

Public Spaces in a Contemporary Urban Environment:
Multi-dimensional Urban Design Approach for Saudi Cities

by

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A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of
Philosophy in Urban Design

April 2011

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بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

In the name of Allah, the most compassionate, the most merciful

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This study would never have been written had it not been for the contribution and encouragement of the many people who helped me either in my work or in developing my theoretical approach to urban design principles for residential areas. All these people – at least their thoughts – appear in this study. My working experience in the Ministry of Municipal and rural Affairs in the Deputy Ministry for Town Planning and at King Abdul-Aziz University's College of Environmental Design has opened my mind on the fascinating fields of environmental planning and design. At Newcastle University, many staff and colleagues provided advice, encouragement and help in the preparation of this study. I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisors, Mr. Tim Townshend and Dr. Graham Tipple, for providing me with such precise directions along the route to the completion of this work. They have always been generous and understanding with their critical views, challenging ideas, and endless encouragement, and they guided me safely through my research when such guidance was dearly needed. I would like to thank Professor Ali Madanipour, who provided stimulating ideas and always provoked fresh avenues of inquiry and interpretation. Thanks should also be given to the Royal Literacy Fund, especially Dr. Denis MacEoin, who carefully and generously proofread this Thesis. At University of Southern California, I would like to thank Professor Tridib Banerjee, Professor Achva Stein, and Professor Michael Dear for their assistance and guidance.

I am greatly indebted to Prince Naif (Minster of Interior), Prince Faisal Bin Abdullah (Minster of Education), Dr. Khalid Al-Angari (Minister of High Education), Sheikh Abdullah Al-Gaty, and Professor Abdul-Majeed Daghistani, for their encouragement and valuable assistance. I am also indebted to the staff members in College of Environmental Design in King Abdul-Aziz University, officers at Jeddah Municipality, the Saudi Ministry of Education, and the Saudi Cultural Bureau in London for being so cooperative and helpful while I was carrying out this research. The immense assistance I have received from my friends and colleagues is profoundly appreciated, namely Dr. Alaa Nassif, Dr. Abdulkader Murad, Eng. Abdul-Aziz Bakry, Dr. Yousef Neyazi, Eng. Mohammed Ajaj, Eng. Emmad Gronfulah, Eng. Mansour Helmi, Eng. Bandar Hassanin, Eng. Raden Bance, Gassan Momenah, Albra Mandeli, and Anmar Mandeli. I particularly value and miss the conversation and support of my brother Farok (1950-2006), who was without a doubt my finest friend and whose death came much too soon.

Finally, I must extend my wholehearted gratitude to my family for the heartfelt encouragement, patience and support which they gave me unconditionally during my study. I dedicate this study to my wife Muna, who took credit for helping me get to the end. I also dedicate this study to the memory of my parents and brother Farok. I humbly express my thanks to God, whose bounty, grace and gifts are innumerable.

ABSTRACT

Contemporary spatial planning policy and practice for regulating urban growth and urban space have led to fragmentation in the layout of modern residential areas in many countries. This fragmentation, together with the structural change that societies around the world have experienced in the last three to four decades, has created transitory and impersonal public spaces that not only deprive inhabitants of the socialisation associated with traditional communities but which also contribute to the breakdown of one of the mechanisms of behaviour control and crime prevention (i.e. natural surveillance combined with self-policing). As these spaces become less identified, residents' perceptions of vulnerability to criminal and sub-criminal activities, as well as the actual level of anti-social behaviour, have increased. In addition, residents are exposed to higher levels of risk from traffic, noise, air pollution, and other urban hazards. Therefore, awareness of risk and fear of the outdoor environment are heightened and become common in the rhythms of the everyday lives of residential environments. Consequently, individuals (or at least those within certain sectors of society) have withdrawn from public life, and life in general has become more insular, inward-looking and home based.

Our problem is that public spaces within modern residential areas in Jeddah have changed from being embedded in the social fabric of the city to being part of fragmented urban settings. These spaces have not only reduced socialisation for inhabitants, but have also become a public burden and a continuous drain on urban life. This research draws on an exploratory and explanatory investigation to understand how the current state of these spaces came about. For this purpose, we have dissected the different actions undertaken by the stakeholders involved in public space provision. This has the further aim of developing multi-dimensional intellectual approaches to inform urban design principles for the future provision of this amenity. Broadly speaking, the investigation — which was carried out using a mixed method as its research strategy — allows us to argue that the contemporary practice of public space provision does not create places that might foster community interaction and enrich socio-cultural life in this context. Moreover, the key argument of this research is that the quality of public spaces within modern residential areas can be effectively enhanced by public participation in the maintenance and management of these spaces. Some recommendations for the future provision of this amenity are offered

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GLOSSARY OF TERMS AND ACRONYMS

ADA	Riyadh Development Authority
CIAM	Athens Charter of Congress Internatioaux d'Architecture Moderne
CM	Council of Minister
EIA	Environment Impact Assessment
EPCC	Environment Protection Coordination Committee
FJP	Friend of Jeddah Parks Association
KACST	King Abdul-Aziz City for Science and Technology
MAW	Ministry of Agriculture and Water
MC	Municipal Council
MCE	Ministerial Committee for the Environment
MEPA	Metrology and Environmental protection Administration
MFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MFNE	Ministry of Finance and National Economy
MIE	Ministry of Industry and Electricity
MOD	Ministry of Defence
MOH	Ministry of Health
MOMRA	Ministry of Municipal and Rural Affairs
MOI	Ministry of Interior
MOP	Ministry of Planning
MOT	Ministry of Transportation
MPMR	Ministry of Petroleum and Mineral Resources
MRAJ	Modern residential areas in Jeddah
NCWCD	Commission for Wild Conservation and Development
NGO	Non government organization
PCMCE	Preparatory Committee for Ministerial Committee on the Environment.
RCJY	Royal Commission for Jubail and Yanbu
SABIC	Saudi Arabian Industry Company
SASO	Saudi Arabian Standardization Organization
SGCM	Secretariat General of the Council of Ministers
UGB	Urban Growth Boundary.

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

In choosing the subject of this research, we had several objectives. The first was to contribute to the current corpus of publications discussing issues associated with change in the nature of public space by analysing the process of urban design practices and development management in Jeddah— following a discussion that has become prominent in political action, social movements and academic research. Hence, the second objective was to focus on public space, understanding not only what has increasingly been called in the literature 'the production and consumption of public space', but also addressing how these spaces provide possibilities for different kinds of representations and at the same time transform economies, societies, cultures, and the lives of cities.

The research, therefore, explores the foundation of the contemporary practice of public space provision within modern residential areas in Jeddah with its interdependent spatial, institutional, and socio-cultural links. The object is not to attempt a comprehensive chronological account of such a practice in its entirety, drawing on the extensive theoretical assumptions and critical interpretations of the space-society relationship and backed by a body of empirical evidence, but, rather, to gain an adequate insight into the everyday life experiences that govern the present situation of these spaces. This has the further aim of developing a holistic intellectual outlook that will, in the end, inform urban design principles for generating an inclusive process of making successful urban spaces. It is, however, the overriding concern of the research to advance a multi-dimensional model of urban design which investigates the 'dynamic multiplicity' of public space from interrelated perspectives and different levels of analysis — something recently stressed by various authors such as Carmona et al. (2003), Madanipour (2006), and Punter (2007). This

forms the third main objective of our research. This chapter aims to set the scene and to place the research in context, illustrating the reasons for selecting the focus of the thesis and its geographical settings, as well as the methods used to achieve its aims and objectives. The chapter begins by looking at the urban history of Jeddah, followed by a section which identifies briefly the problems addressed by the research. We then move to an outline of the questions raised by our research and to the methods used to address them. The chapter ends with an overview of the organization of the thesis.

1.2 The geographical setting of the research

Jeddah is the largest city in Makkah Province and the second largest city in Saudi Arabia after the capital city, Riyadh. It is considered the commercial capital of Saudi Arabia. The city is located on the Red Sea halfway along the western coast of Saudi Arabia. It is situated on a narrow coastal plain called the Tihama. To the east are a number of small hills and further inland is the high and steep Hijaz escarpment (**Figure 1-1**).

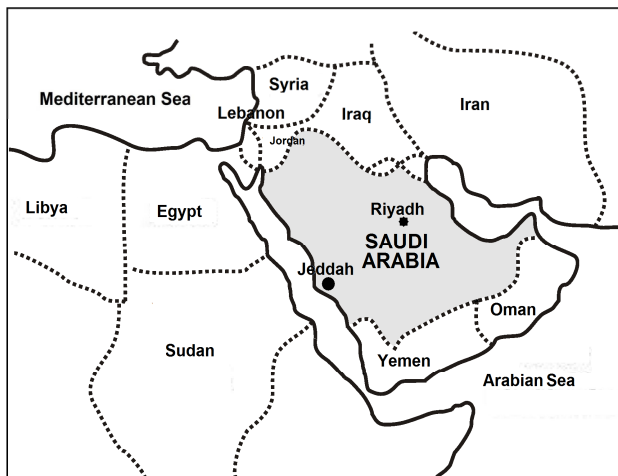


Figure 1-1: Geographical setting of Jeddah, Saudi Arabia.

For a long time Jeddah served as a diplomatic, commercial, distribution and service centre. Historically, the city's role was, and still is, as a port and gateway to the two Holy Cities. For centuries Jeddah was considered a pilgrim city in addition to Makkah and Madinah. The sea was considered a source of income for many families as most inhabitants made their livelihood from the sea. Other people worked in different fields such

as trading, building construction, services occupations and local industries (Al-Ansari 1980). Following the unification of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in 1932, Jeddah became a diplomatic centre until the 1986 transfer of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the embassies of all foreign countries to Riyadh. Despite this alteration in its role, Jeddah continued to expand in importance and to experience major economic growth. This growth was largely due to the presence of some consultants, which led to an increase of Hajj pilgrims and expansion of the business sector (Bokhari 1978).

The social order in the city was homeostatic, adhering to the rules of the Islamic religion and Arab custom. By the time of the final establishment of Saudi Arabia and the unification of the Hijaz region (1932) and up to the destruction of the city wall (1947), the functions, character and size of the city had remained virtually unchanged for centuries. Following the beginning of oil exports in 1938, the general wealth of the country increased dramatically. Jeddah grew at an amazing rate, both in population and in the extent of the urbanized area. Almost ten year later, the estimated population of the city was about 24 thousand inhabitants within the city walls. After that, however, a series of events coincided to lift that figure to 2.8 million by 2005. These events included the demolition of Jeddah's outer wall and the sudden influx of people into the country (Jeddah-Municipality 2004).

After 1953, Jeddah enjoyed the first of several economic booms that followed World War Two and saw the beginnings of a commercial oil industry in the country. A diverse array of spatial plans and development strategies has been engendered. These have all aimed to regulate city growth and to modernize the urban infrastructure (Daghistani 1991). In 1971, after the approval of the First Five Year National Development Plan (1970-75), the Ministry of the Interior's Department of Municipal Affairs appointed international consultants Robert Matthew, Johnson-Marshall & Partners to prepare a comprehensive master plan for Jeddah that could be utilized as an official tool for guiding different sectoral programmes. As a consequence of rapid urban growth and the demographic pressure in addition to the large-scale urban planning and development programmes, the city went through a substantial spatial transformation. A new ring road was built on the ruins of the city wall as part of a transport network, and new streets were imposed on the

narrower roadways of the old town, overcoming the traditional social structure. Overall, the city grew in a disjointed manner along the outgoing roads, and thoroughfares were transformed into a grid street system in order to pave the way for the future expansion of residential areas and to facilitate the construction of infrastructure and the movement of goods and services (Jenaideb 1993).

Since that period, Jeddah has continued to witness a substantial flow of new immigrants to the suburbs: the influx of people from around Saudi Arabia and other countries has created a sprawling metropolis. Consequently, the 1971 population of the city (404,650) grew to 1,312,000 by 1987 and the spatial coverage of the city expanded dramatically to an area of over 367 square kilometres. Although the annual rate of growth decreased from 9.5 to 3.6 between 1987 and 2001, the population of the city reached 2.56 million in 2001 at a phenomenal rate of 6.4 per annum. The city now covers an area of 1378 square kilometres. The population of the city which currently stands at over 3.4 million is projected to grow to 8.2 million by the year 2050, by when the area covered will have doubled three times (Daghistani 1991; Jeddah-Municipality 2004). Such a sustained rate of urban growth will inevitably exacerbate the existing urban problems such as social polarization, heavy traffic congestion and the degraded quality of residential areas. It will also create new demands for public services that would be difficult to meet in the absence of effective methods for regulating urban developments, responsive urban planning and design practices.

Today, Jeddah is the biggest city in the Hijaz region and the second largest city in the country, being dwarfed only by the capital, Riyadh. Due to its location on the Red Sea coast, it bears many responsibilities. On the one hand, it is the main gateway by air, sea and land for pilgrims going to the two Holy Mosques, who arrive and leave via Jeddah's King Abdul Aziz International Airport, Jeddah Islamic Port, or other roads linking the southern part of the Kingdom to this major port on the Red Sea coast. On the other, it is a major commercial, industrial and cultural centre. The city is also a very active financial centre because of its open policy towards both East and West in all five continents. Jeddah houses the headquarters of most major banks in Saudi Arabia. It also serves as a leading tourist centre due to its beautiful coastal location and the availability of a complete range of recreational services. Acting as a hub for globalized activities in the field of religion, commerce, banking, and tourism, Jeddah may truly be considered a modern metropolis.

The choice of Jeddah for the development of this research was dictated by several considerations. First, specific historical knowledge about the city is fairly extensive. Because of its role in Saudi society and its strong urban identity, Jeddah has long held a certain fascination for explorers, historians, and academic researchers. Another reason is that the city has grown enormously over the past several decades as part of the growth of the Saudi Arabian national economy and its expanding commercial activities. The researcher would expect, therefore, to obtain important insights from the study of a city in such a rapid state of flux. Third, the rapid growth of Jeddah alongside inappropriate urban planning and design practices together with poor development management, have all exacerbated urban problems and resulted in the degradation of urban services and a decline in the public sphere. The present situation of the city would provide us with an interesting case study in the examination of these practices and other political and social forces and their role in shaping its morphology. Finally, since the researcher has lived in the city for more than 30 years and has previously been involved in the development of many residential and recreational projects there, he already has knowledge of and is familiar with the spatial, institutional and socio-cultural context of Jeddah.

1.3 The problems addressed by the research

Many have criticized the incompatibility of recent instrumental urban planning and design approaches with local communities and contexts. They have argued that the abstraction and geometry of these approaches tend to be premised on patterns of urban environment rather on economic, social or functional arguments that may generate urban settings (Lang 1996; Carmona, Heath et al. 2003). As pointed out by Madanipour (2007: 4), dissenting views on producing the city in general and the fragmentary process of making spatial fabric in particular have generated ‘multiple and disengaged geometries’ as well as polarized urban spaces that do not pay enough attention to social and physical context.

These aspects of the contemporary urban environment inspired a resurgence of procedural theorizing and studies from social scientists and urban specialists, who questioned the basic assumptions that underlay previous criticisms of large modern cities and urban redevelopment programmes. The phenomena of urban growth and the transformation of the traditional urban fabric in Saudi Arabian cities have been affected by various factors

which correspond to observations in academic and planning literature about cities in western countries. The physical, social and institutional changes that have occurred in western cities have had a direct impact on the creation of fragmented and polarized societies, together with residential areas with poor quality public spaces, which have spread fragmentation throughout society as whole. These issues, which impede the provision of public open spaces in Western countries, are crucial for our understanding of the problems that exist for public space provision in Saudi cities.

The speed of urbanization in Saudi Arabia is one of the highest in the world. The existing major urban centres of Riyadh, Jeddah, Madinah (Medina), Dhahran, and Makkah have experienced explosive growth since 1973. From the time of the final establishment of Saudi Arabia (1932) onward, most political and administrative leaders considered urban growth essential for the economic and social well-being of local communities. Officials and the professionals working for them initially managed this growth by encouraging urban renewal and expanding the boundaries of local municipalities. They encouraged population growth and stimulated business expansion, while introducing other large-scale public sector schemes in urban developments. Consequently, cities were expanded through high-rise public housing, land subdivision for new residential areas, and new street networks. Although urban growth continues to be a primary national objective, and many actors support its efforts, several urban specialists and social commentators warn of damage and raise the questions surrounding the environmental, social and economic issues that limit its effectiveness. In general, urban growth has been perceived by some policy analysts as relatively positive, because government development policies have been able to achieve a largely first-rate infrastructure and raise urban standards of living in a short period (Montgomery 1986; Daghistani 1991).

The last two to three decades, however, have witnessed the growth of a strong sentiment against the phenomenon of urban growth. A substantial body of opinion regards urban growth as highly undesirable and views these development policies as self-defeating because they fail to allocate resources in a socially desirable manner (Eben-Saleh 2001; Garba 2004). It has been indicated (e.g. Daghistani 1991) that the lack of appropriate and coordinated policy guidance and the absence of collaboration among government units have left public sector authorities powerless to perform their duties effectively. Moreover,

the local municipalities seemed poorly equipped to deal with the issues of urbanization, while the expansion of the administrative jurisdiction within cities required a greater degree of control over the area than the local authority was able to exercise. Moreover, scholars and urban specialists such as Al-Hathloul (1981) have pointed out the distorted nature of urbanization, which has caused the same problem internationally, and created central political issues in most developing countries. These include leapfrog development, the proliferation of scattered settlements, the emergence of fragmented and heterogeneous residential areas, unregulated population growth, speculated development, a shortage of affordable housing, insufficiently funded public goods, increasing social differences, overly long commuting times, traffic congestion, the degraded quality of public spaces within residential areas, and severe ecological problems. Broadly speaking, the issue of excessive urban growth, which has recently been placed on the Saudi national agenda, can be attributed to the inherited limitations on both conventional urban planning practices and public actions for regulating urban development and service delivery.

In Jeddah as well as other Saudi cities, recent interest in upgrading the quality of residential areas in general and public spaces in particular is rooted in spatial and structural changes that the city experienced in the past five decades. The accelerated development process necessitates the incorporation of a modern movement in urban planning and architecture concepts in order to meet a growing demand for new residential areas and public services. Consequently, many land subdivisions involving speculation occurred over a short period of time and pushed outward into the peripheral areas of cities. These spatial planning and design practices have led to fragmentation in the layout of modern residential areas and the deterioration of public spaces within them. Previous studies of Saudi cities (e.g. Bokhari 1978; Akbar 1981; Al-Hathloul 1981; Al-Nowaiser 1982; Abu-Ghazze 1997; Eben-Saleh 2002; Mortada 2003) show that demographic pressure together with the availability of huge financial resources and the government's desire to modernise the urban infrastructure led to a substantial spatial fragmentation of the cities and transformed society, turning integrated communities into dispersed populations.

Moreover, these studies show that modern land use and building regulations have not only created large-scale housing schemes with free-standing buildings that invade privacy and disturb communal responsibility, but have also changed the character of public space.

What had been major focal points for human interaction have become functional areas and corridors for traffic. This, in turn, has reduced their significance as facilitators for sociability and has degraded the quality of public life. More to the point, the functional design criteria for public space provision brought standardized sizes and abstract images into these spaces. Consequently, impersonal public spaces within modern residential areas have grown to such an extent that living together is now difficult and undesirable, given that public spaces have become residual and unattractive. Such a limited scope of action and a restricted understanding of urban needs combined with poor management systems have made it difficult to create attractive public spaces that permit personal contact and induce a sense of responsibility in modern residential areas.

In response to the failure of modern zoning and land subdivision regulations to produce liveable residential areas, over the last few years there has been an upsurge in an interest to upgrade the living standards of contemporary neighbourhoods, where the quality of public space and residential proximity are crucial factors in fostering sociability and allowing residents to participate in the maintenance of their immediate surroundings. Private sector and local community initiatives have been directed towards improving residential liveability and enhancing the public realm through the construction of new neighbourhoods with a range of attractive public spaces. This has been done through direct construction combined with the improvement of existing public space within some neighbourhoods. Several government guidance documents have been issued, and professional institutions have prepared different schemes for residential areas; these act as design guidelines for new land subdivision. The layouts of these proposals were mainly based on the idea of creating pedestrian-friendly residential areas with pleasant public spaces. Although these efforts have improved the situation of the public realm in some small-scale neighbourhoods, their advocates could not obtain enough political and public support in order to replace existing land subdivision regulations, with their emphasis on grid street layouts.

As stated in many political and social debates, one of the most important factors that have challenged the realization of these concepts is that some policy makers and professionals were sceptical of the role of these schemes in creating more secure and desirable environments. It was argued that these schemes, which contained cul-de-sacs and isolated

pedestrian networks, and which were socially diverse in their nature, may make the work of the police difficult, if not impossible. There was also a legal challenge, and controversy was created by some city officials, who attacked these schemes vehemently and noted that mandating such an idea of neighbourhoods would create derelict rather than inviting outdoor areas. As they pointed out, the local authority can not easily provide security and maintenance for these areas, as they are not accessible for refuse trucks and other service vehicles. Moreover, these schemes were challenged by land speculators who believed that the construction of such subdivisions was not economically feasible and that the layout in general would not satisfy people's wishes and life-style choices — i.e. to have their property located along wide, straight roads instead of having it on dead-end and irregular streets. Although the suggested schemes focused mainly on how to create place-responsive design principles, many of these guidelines tend to be quite prescriptive rules that represent the intention of the professional and do not recognise the diverse human requirements, experiences, life styles and attitudes at different cities and communities in the country. However, overall, these efforts should be acknowledged for their role in highlighting the need for a broader understanding of public space, thereby helping to put the practice of public space provision in a better position to compete for policy attention.

The following questions arise: what are the political, economic, social, and spatial parameters that lie at the bottom of these efforts? Will the general application of the suggested urban design guidelines help in the creation of new neighbourhoods that successfully accommodate people's needs and desires? To what extent will these schemes help us assess how to establish a sense of community and responsibility? Are these efforts about creating an idealistic residential environment that people in different communities want to live in, or do they represent the mental picture of a few specialists of how the ideal community should be designed? Could the proposed design schemes become common in future? Overall, growing concern over improvements in the quality of the residential environment does not seem to have changed the current situation effectively, since many residential areas in Saudi cities continue to suffer from social fragmentation and many deteriorated public spaces can still be identified within contemporary residential areas.

In 2006, in response to growing social interest in public space quality, an administrative reform process took place in Jeddah Municipality, which aimed to redefine the roles and

responsibilities of different departments under its management. Consequently, different departments in charge of public space provision came under the jurisdiction of the deputy mayor responsible for projects and construction, whereas they had previously come under various directorates and departments. It should be noted that, although the new governing arrangements and organizational structures led to the emergence of a better understanding of public space policy concerned with design quality and long-term maintenance, and although they have the potential to bring contemporary public space management forward as a more effective practice, in practice, the management structure that was created was complex and lacked the necessary personnel and funding. The limited financial resource to develop and maintain things has constrained officials from delivering appropriate public space amenity as required. Moreover, in some cases the great variety of input from different departments and other agencies from the private sector and local communities made it difficult to know what had actually been decided and by whom. This in turn led to confusion about responsibilities.

In summary, our problem is that the practice of public space provision within modern residential areas in Jeddah does not correspond well to its users and context. The considerable range of areas reserved for public spaces and streets within modern residential areas in Jeddah poses a complex challenge for creating and managing these spaces within the constraints of a limited budget. These spaces have not only reduced socialisation for inhabitants, but have also become a public burden and a continuous drain on urban life. As noted earlier, the main purpose of this study is to gain insights into the everyday life experiences that govern the present situation of these spaces, with the aim of developing an analytical model that will, in the end, shape urban design principles for the future provision of this amenity. In line with this, the emerging urban spaces of contemporary residential areas, with all their social, institutional, and spatial dilemmas and contradictions are the context of this research.

1.4 The research aim and questions

This study recognizes from the outset that there are numerous definitions, interpretations, and dimensions of public space which are unaddressed in contemporary practice. In the light of this, our study raises two main questions: how can we establish an analytical

framework that might effectively contribute to the creation of successful public spaces? And to what extent are the contemporary public spaces within modern residential areas in Jeddah appropriate to their users and the local context?

To address these questions, the research concerns need to be extended from a theoretical framework into the sphere of practical provision. The search for answers to these questions may lead to the establishment of an analytical framework capable of contributing to the enhancement of contemporary public space provision. From this point of view, the first sets of questions are related to the intellectual perspectives of the concept 'open space': What is the meaning of the concept 'public space'? How is public space defined? How may we address ambiguity in our definitions of public space? How do different definitions evolve and come to be understood in their own right? This study will seek to develop an analytical framework to investigate the reality of public spaces within modern residential areas. This novel conceptualization can help achieve a better understanding of the concept of 'public space', by using theoretical perspectives conceived as interrelated dimensions: spatial, social, cultural, managerial, institutional, and temporal (Carmona, Heath et al. 2003; Madanipour 2006). The second set of issues is related to the operational perspective of public spaces, and has to do with the providers, regulators and users of these spaces within modern residential areas in Jeddah city. By bringing together the broad themes of the production, construction, consumption, and management of public space, the findings will be useful for the establishment of an appropriate conceptual framework that will contribute to a deeper understanding of the relationship between the quality of urban design elements and the environmental experience of public space users. Therefore, the questions we must ask have been developed from the Banerjee and Loukaitou-Sideris (1992) study of public space in Los Angeles.¹ Adapted to Jeddah, these are:

- To what extent have contemporary public spaces in modern residential areas in Jeddah city satisfied their inhabitants' needs, desires and expectations?
- What institutional policies apply to the provision of contemporary public open spaces in Jeddah city?

¹ The author participated in this study when he was a postgraduate student at School of Urban and Regional Planning, University of Southern California, Los Angeles.

- What do these public spaces mean for providers, users and regulators?
- How are they expected to be used, managed and maintained? Are there any explicit or implicit rules of use and decorum?
- How are they designed and landscaped? Who are they designed for? How do they relate to the local context?
- Are there some pre-established criteria for locating, sizing and designing these public spaces?
- Do these public spaces reflect any conscious effort to shape overall pedestrian life within modern residential areas?

1.5 The objectives of the research

To address the questions outlined above and in line with the stated aim of the research, the basic objectives of the study are to:

1. Develop a multi-dimensional theoretical framework for analysing the current state of public spaces in the contemporary urban environment; and to explain why we need to consider the spatial, socio-cultural and institutional dimensions of the man-environment relationship in defining the concept of ‘public space’.
2. Examine the implications of the changing nature of Saudi cities over the past thirty years.
3. Investigate the state of contemporary public spaces within modern residential areas in Jeddah, directly from the perspective of their users, providers and regulators.
4. Make recommendations to improve the process of the planning, design, construction, management and maintenance of these public spaces.

1.6 The research approach and methods

There is a rich and extensive literature covering research that explores residents’ appraisal of both specific and general aspects of the environment and the quality of life. The appraisal typically takes the form of perceived environmental quality indicators that can be

extensively used in the fields of urban planning and design, and in environmental, social, and psychological studies. However, a review of recent relevant literature reveals that no generally accepted conceptual framework in relation to community well-being has thus far been developed, nor has any coherent system been devised to measure with precision aspects of environmental quality (Carmona, Heath et al. 2003; Van-Kamp, Leidelmeijera et al. 2003; Punter 2007). Since there is an urgent need for reliable tools to evaluate these dimensions – something stressed by various authors – we argue that, building on the work of Madanipour (2006), a multidimensional model of urban design is important. Such a model investigates the ‘dynamic multiplicity’ of public space from the perspective of providers, regulators and users. This approach has attempted to integrate the objective spatial experience of public spaces with the subjective approach, which puts more emphasis on the direct experience of place.

Going beyond the literature review, in practice, the production of public spaces takes place through planning and design activities, together with regular maintenance and physical improvement. To research the present situation regarding public spaces within modern residential areas in Jeddah – which carry specific values and meanings – we need to scrutinize their different dimensions. This has to be carried out from a vantage point from which the production and construction of public spaces are regarded as the result of public sector policies, private initiatives, and community participation. This means that research needs to be grounded in data collection informed by all intellectual tools which should be utilized to suggest the multi-dimensional urban design model. So far, there has been little attempt to document contemporary processes within the practice of public space provision in Jeddah with a multidimensional framework that may help us investigate this practice from interrelated perspectives. The application of an integrated approach to a particular urban setting gives us a holistic conception of how a specific setting is spatially, institutionally and socially produced and constructed, and also how it is psychologically perceived.

The approach to the research follows a series of steps outlined in **Figure 1-2**. The study started with a literature survey and a document analysis, which were used to produce a critical overview of public spaces in their conceptual framework. The reviews led to a definition of the research problem and approach, alongside the methods for data collection.

To obtain the information necessary for this model, field work took place during the periods 18 June to 10 September 2006 and 25 December 2006 to 16 January 2007.

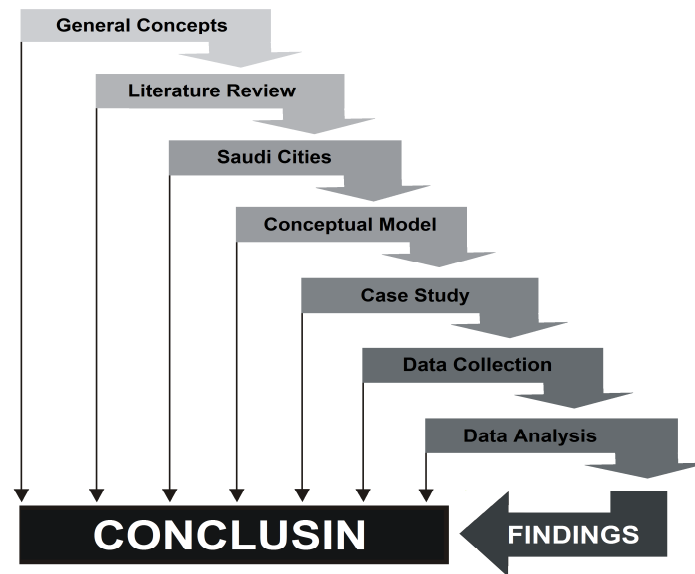


Figure 1-2: The research methodology

During these periods, the decision was taken to investigate a small number of public spaces located in selected neighbourhoods and to utilize mixed methods to acquire statistical, quantitative results from a sample consisting of 390 participants. Moreover, we carried out in-depth interviews with over thirty different actors related to public space provision. These included local authority officials, city planners, architects, developers, knowledgeable sources, and influential people, in order to explore those results in greater depth. The quantitative research questions posed in face-to-face questionnaires addressed the relationship between urban design elements and the environmental experiences of a representative sample of the respondents. Themes from the qualitative and ethnographic data were developed in this thesis into an instrument designed to question how far public spaces within modern residential areas in Jeddah can be tested and explored in order to determine how appropriate they may be to their users and context.

1.7 The organization of the thesis

The thesis is divided into eleven chapters. Chapter One establishes the main concepts of the study. Chapter Two reviews the relevant literature concerning the different dimensions of urban public space. Chapter Three presents the conceptual approach of the research. On the basis of the different dimensions of public open spaces, this part introduces the way this research approaches the concept of public space; it also describes the proposed model which enables us to define the relationship between a community's quality of life and the different dimensions of public spaces within modern neighbourhoods in Jeddah. Chapter Four outlines the research methodology; it introduces the use of an empirical study as the research strategy, and explains the rationale of selecting a mixed method strategy as the research methodology. It also clarifies the reasons for carrying out this research in Jeddah, and the reasons for examining the selected public spaces as units of analysis. Moreover, it explains in detail how the data sources have been used in this research; discusses the analytical methods which have been adopted; and summarises the difficulties experienced while carrying out the research.

Chapter Five examines the historical evolution of Jeddah city and the recent regeneration policies, strategies, and architectural and urban design innovations in relation to public space provision which have been implemented in modern residential areas over the last five decades. Chapter Six examines public space management in Jeddah and highlights the process by which spaces are constructed and maintained. Chapter Seven examined how the advent of the master plan of Jeddah sparked remarkable questions about the compatibility of technically-generated open spaces with their users and context. Chapter eight provides a brief review of the spatial characteristic of the residential areas selected as case studies. Chapter Nine focuses on the consumption of public spaces within the three residential areas selected as case studies. Chapter Ten outlines participants' attitudes (both qualitative and quantitative surveys) towards the quality of their residential environment as well as the quality of the spaces available within their residential areas. The final chapter (Chapter Eleven) provides an overview of the research, summarizing its initial focus, the questions posed, the inherent propositions, the research methodology, the findings, and the conclusions reached. This section also includes recommendations for future research.

Chapter Two

Conceptualising public space

Chapter 2

Conceptualizing public space

2.1 Introduction

To broaden our understanding of the issues of public space provision, it is important to clarify what is meant by the term as we use it in this thesis, and to recognise the variety of space types that may be found in our cities. This chapter focuses on space as the main subject of urban design, but draws on a number of other disciplines, such as philosophy, geography, psychology and sociology. A brief literature review will offer an understanding of public space and the approaches to its examination within these separate disciplines. The chapter is organised into four sections. The first reviews the concepts of space, urban space and public space for a broader understanding of the research subject. The second provides a brief review of the different dimensions of public space, discussing some approaches relevant to the analysis of urban open spaces and identifying the theoretical underpinning of these approaches. The third and final section is the conclusion. This suggests the way forward in approaching the task of formulating a conceptual framework for this study.

2.2 Understanding space, urban space, and public space

2.2.1 Dialectical oppositions about space

Since antiquity, speculative philosophers have tended to view space as metaphysical, and related it to religion, mystical experience, and natural science. Then, in the last three centuries, with the development of deductive reasoning through the scientific enlightenment, the conceptual description of space and geometry changed. In consequence, the concept of space has been changed to accommodate new variables from both the natural and social sciences. The definition of space became an object of

sustained dialectical debate on whether space is real and exists as independent entity or is merely as a set of imaginary relations (Marios 1979; Madanipour 1996).

Six major perspectives are identified by Madanipour (1996; 2007) in the evolution of the concept of space. The first was expounded by the Greek philosopher Aristotle (384 – 322 BC) whose views of space as a material plenum dominated medieval scholasticism. Aristotle conceived space as synonymous with the theory of place, the latter containing objects that existed in the world but finite in extent and does not have a body (Stein 1967; Van de ven 1980, cited in Garba 2007). The second perspective is the formal system of logic developed by the Greek mathematician Euclid (323-283 B.C.). Euclid challenged Plato's and Aristotle's conceptions of the universe by asserting that space is limitless void, that it is immeasurable, and that it has a continuous body. Euclid used 23 primary definitions as the basis for his understanding of space. These include point, line, and surface. His investigation of the relationship between these elements such as the angle made up out of this relationship of two lines, marks the beginning of geometry as a practical science for measuring and shaping space (Madanipour 2007).

The third perspective is the theory of absolute space developed by Newton as a counterpart to the Euclidean conception of space. Newton postulates that space is 'an objective substance comprised of points and regions in which things were located' (Madanipour 2007: 192). Based on this argument, space and time can be defined as real things but they cannot be perceived by our sense. As pointed out by Speake (1979, cited in Madanipour 1996), the whole succession of natural events in the world takes place through space and time. In line with this, the movement of things occurred independently and was not a matter of their relation to changes within other objects. The fourth perspective comes from the German physicist Gottfried Leibniz (1646-1716), who developed a theory of relational space in opposition to Newton's theory of absolute substance. Leibniz views space as a series of relationships between objects (Alexander 1956). According to him, it is 'the order of coexisting things, or the order of existence for all things that are contemporaneous' (quoted in Bochner 1973: 297, cited in Madanipour 1996: 5).

The fifth perspective was developed by the German philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724 – 1804), who rejected Leibniz's concept of relational space by developing an intuitive

theory mainly based on the Euclidean notion (Madanipour 2007). The idea behind this theory is that 'space was not a general notion of things, nor was it based on sensory-perceptible data, but it belonged exclusively to the world of thought' (cited in Garba 2007: 12). According to this viewpoint, the conception of space is related to human thought processes and biological sensibility, and cannot be empirically derived from outward experience (Madanipour 1996; Harvey 2006).

The sixth perspective was developed by the German theoretical physicist Albert Einstein (1879 – 1955) at end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th. Following Kant, Einstein rejected both Newton's idea of space and time as absolute things and Leibniz's system of relations between objects. Based on his discovery of the theories of special and general relativity, he concluded that space does not have an independent existence. Its existence is completely represented by a field which depends on four-dimensional parameters instead of being limited to previous propositions of the three dimensional space of Euclidean geometry. Since then, the concept of space has undergone a radical transformation as it has grown more abstract, in a context where both space and time are viewed as part of the same continuum rather than as separate entities. According to this point of view, one can argue that in order to obtain a better understanding of urban or architectural space, our investigation of the nature of this space and its components should not only be multiple in its focus but should integrate the dimensions of social and historical time (Madanipour 2007). This will be explained in greater detail in section 2.3.6, which focuses on the temporal dimension of public spaces.

Examination of the historical understanding of space uncovers some dilemmas and controversies regarding the nature of space. Commenting on these perspectives, Madanipour (1996) points out that the dialectical contradiction between absolute and relational theories has direct and indirect applications within academic disciplines and for approaches to the planning and design of cities, including geography and urban planning. In geography, for example, the interest of geographers in the precise measurement of location relationships and objective readings of the environment can be linked to the concept of absolute space, which focuses on the characteristics of objects and the extent of their dispersion and concentration. In contrast, the relative and relational conception of space which views it as a relationship between events has inspired a new generation of scholars who broaden geography to include subjective analysis of social and cultural

realities. As a result of this dialectal controversy over the definition of space, there is no coherent body of literature about both the natural and the built environment (Friedmann 1987; Harvey 2006). On the whole, such debates have contributed to our understanding of urban space and provided a considerable body of data about how these spaces are theorised as absolute spaces, then segmented and measured. The data also reveal ideas about how people relate to the relational organisation of space and how they confer function and symbolic value on it (Madanipour 2007).

2.2.2 Multiple meanings of urban space

Dialectical contradictions about the nature of space are also reflected in the emergence of different interpretations and meanings within urban space. A brief search through the disciplines of urban geography, urban sociology, urban planning, and architecture reveals a range of overlapping conceptions and definitions of urban space which are often used as synonyms, but which are frequently definitions that stand in contradiction to one another. Usage of the concept runs across different academic disciplines that are concerned with space. The dilemmas are also exacerbated by dichotomised views within each discipline that are derived from different methodological approaches and epistemological inquiries as to the nature of urban space. These include descriptive or normative, quantitative or qualitative, empirical or rational, material or mental, objective or subjective, procedural or substantive, and analytic or synthetic (Madanipour 1996; Harvey 2006). As indicated in the previous section, these dialectical relationships basically emerged from the curiosity of theorists, writers, and urban specialists to justify their visions of order by resorting to scientific abstractions and speculative philosophies regarding the nature of the universe and space (Lang 1987; Fathy 1988; Friedmann 1998). These in turn generated different social and temporal orders as well as a range of urban structures. Madanipour (2001: 160) points out that there are at least three different perspectives that can be identified for understanding urban space. These are the physical and architectural deterministic approach, the social geometry concept, and the phenomenological perspective.

The first perspective, the physical deterministic or formal-morphological approach conceives space as a collection of artefacts such as buildings, roads and other material objects. Most architectural and some geographical writings fall within this perspective. In

line with this, urban space is distinct from natural open space, and it can be seen as something that can be created and structured in accordance with its intended manner of consumption (this will be elaborated in section 2.3.1). The second perspective, that of social geometry, stands in contrast to the previous perspective and views the city and its urban spaces as an agglomeration of people rather than something produced by a collection of material objects. As will be explained in greater detail in section 2.3.3, most urban ecology, political economy, human geography and urban sociology writings adopt this perspective. The third perspective is the phenomenological approach. As will be discussed in section 2.3.2, such an approach as a means of decoding the meaning of the environment and understanding what may be termed the person-space interface has influenced environmental design professionals and refocused the urban design discipline in a way that assimilates the direct experience of place. Authors working from this perspective have criticized the morphological approach for giving objects and material too much prominence while neglecting people's attitudes, their personalities and their socio-cultural background (Lang 1987; Talen 2000; Madanipour, Hull et al. 2001).

In general terms, the theoretical dilemmas reflected in these dichotomised perspectives resulted in a lack of precision in the operational definition that can be used to study the multi-dimensional nature of urban space. Commenting on the validity of these perspectives, Madanipour (1996) argues that although each of them provides some insight into understanding the city, none of them can be enough to obtain a holistic understanding of urban space. Therefore, there is an urgent need for a socio-spatial approach that bridges the gap between these perspectives. Moreover, such an approach should recognise the multi-dimensional nature of urban space and should be capable of providing multiple layers of representation that can combine the physical geometry of urban space with its social and psychological dimensions. (Madanipour, Hull et al. 2001: 160; Carmona and Tiesdell 2007).

2.2.3 Defining public space

As was the case with the ambiguity that affected our definition of the terms space and urban space, defining the term 'public space' is also the subject of competing perspectives and ideas in the academic literature. These indicate that public space has a multi-dimensional nature. For example, the Concise Oxford Dictionary defines the term 'public'

as 'concerning the people as a whole', 'open to or shared by all the people', 'a section of the community having a particular interest or in some special connection' (Thompson 1995: 1106). The term is also used in a variety of phrases such as general public, public opinion, public life and so on, all of which refer to a large number of people or to society or to the state.

Madanipour (2003: 110) has identified three sources of ambiguity in defining the term public. These are: First, when the term 'public' is used to refer to society as a homogenous entity, or where it refers to the state as if it is one single organization. A second ambiguity inheres in the descriptive and normative interpretations of the public: while some writers such as the social anthropologists frequently use the term 'public' to denote human interaction, others adopt a more normative stance. Political theorists, for example, use it to indicate how human interactions should be conducted. A third use is related to whether private and public refer to personal and impersonal relations. While the public lies beyond the personal realm it can be further divided into the impersonal, such as market exchanges and the interpersonal realm of face-to-face interaction. In some cases, the interpersonal realm also can be seen as public (as distinct from the personal), and in other cases it can be interpreted as private (as distinct from the impersonal).

In order to confront the ambiguity of divisions, Benn and Gaus (1983: 7) have identified three criteria that constitute the social dimension of the terms 'public' and 'private'. These include access, agency and interest. They also say that 'place and spaces ... are public when anyone is entitled to be physically present in them; they are private when someone, or some group, having the right of access, can choose whether to deny or allow access to others.' Concerning the criterion of 'agent', they point out that a space or resources can be public if they are created and controlled by the public authorities or by agents that act on behalf of communities and if they are used by the population in general. Regarding the criterion of 'interest', they argue that identifying those individuals who will obtain the benefit from consuming a particular space will enable us to distinguish whether that space is private or public. In the context of Benn and Gaus's argument, one may argue that the urban environment is composed of public and private spaces; public space is the arena in which public life takes place, in contrast to private life. However, this space is made up of different degrees of 'publicness' and 'privateness' and depends on functional and symbolic purposes. It should be noted that public authorities, acting as agents of the public, can

play a fundamental role in the provision of public amenities such as public space; this is because they have the ability to control such space, can make it available, and ensure it is shared by all members of a community. For regulating the provision of these amenities, public authorities usually establish rules that mediate between different interests that compete for their use. However, in western societies as well as in some in the developing world, under the pressure of privatization, the production of public space has been shifted from being the responsibility of the government to that of the private sector. As will be explained in greater details later in sections 2.3.3.3 and 2.3.3.4, this trend has resulted in the commodification of public space and, at the same time, it has rendered the distinction of public and private space less and less clear (Akkar 2003; Madanipour 2003; Kirby 2008).

Based on the above discussion, urban spaces can be conceived of as public if they are unconstrained areas with permissible boundaries that allow the public to have physical and visual access to them (Carr, Francis et al. 1992; Mitchell 1995). Woolly (2003) maintains that public space can be defined as an expanse that is open to the public as a whole and that can be used by all age groups, shared by all members of the community and provided by the government for the use of the people. Pasaogullari and Dortali (2004) point out that the most effective factors and deterrents that can be used to increase the use of a public space can be facilitated and constrained by the prevailing social and institutional environments. Loukaitou-Sideris and Banerjee (1992) define public spaces as settings for public life; ideally, they function as fora for political action and representation, as 'neutral' or common ground for social interaction, intermingling, and communication.

From these definitions it is evident that the concept of public space is used in a wide range of contexts. Critical aspects in the conception of public space are related to the extent that these spaces are accessible, by whom they are owned, controlled and managed. To contribute positively to the generation of public spaces, we need to develop an appropriate understanding of the them and to treat them as dynamic physical objects with a multi-dimensional nature (Madanipour 2006). This study adopts the term 'public space' to refer to outdoor areas outside the boundary of private properties within the selected modern residential areas used by us as case studies. It also refers to residential urban spaces that have the element of collective public life, whether these spaces be dominated

by hard landscapes or include greenery, or whether the spaces be designated as domestic, such as local streets, pavements, pedestrian routes, linear commercial spaces and children's play areas, or yet again as civic public open spaces, such as neighbourhood playgrounds and parks.

2.3 Dimensions of public space

The current literature addresses a range of public space dimensions, including its morphological, perceptual, social, functional, visual, temporal, and political functions. Accordingly, a variety of different definitions and hierarchies relating to spaces have been suggested by different authors from different theoretical backgrounds over the years. Despite the fact that there are controversies over specific visions and approaches to the spatial arrangement of open space, each of these different approaches has its own value (Carmona, Heath et al. 2003). Therefore, many scholars argue that in order to obtain a better understanding of urban space, our investigations of its nature and its components should be multidisciplinary in their focus in a way that integrates the spatial aspects with human, social, cultural and historical time dimensions (Carmona and Tiesdell 2007). In order to provide a further conceptualization of the nature of public space, Carmona and his collaborators (2003) deliberately adopted six dimensions that provide a broad understanding of urban design. Such an integrated framework, which simultaneously considers all dimensions of public space, can be usefully employed in the empirical analysis of public space. The following sections will briefly outline these dimensions.

2.3.1 The morphological dimension

The morphological approach was initiated by the Austrian architect Camillo Sitte (1843-1903) in 1889 who advocated the principles of continuous building. Sitte was not 'concerned with the properties of street networks because they could only be comprehended sensorily in their entirety and hence lacked all aesthetic interest' (Sitt 1986 cited in Peponis 1989: 95). The recent formal-morphological approach to urban design has emerged as a reaction to modern urban planning principles. The latter enforce the functional classification of land use regulations which have led to the fragmentation of life alongside the physical decomposition of the city and the destruction of traditional urban spaces, where they have created segmented spaces. This approach can be

distinguished by its inclination to abstract morphological qualities and its tendency to classify urban space as an architectural form, within its modernist conception as a social space (Colquhoun 1989). More fundamentally, authors who subscribed to this approach such as Zucker (1959), Cullen (1971), Rowe and Koetter (1978), Rob Krier (1979), Aldo Rossi (1988), and Hillier and Hanson (1982) focused their analyses on two key issues: urban form and urban layout. Closely interwoven with the attempts to define public spaces morphologically is the identification of different typologies of these spaces such as streets, boulevards, squares, plazas, markets, religious enclaves, public parks, neighbourhood playgrounds and spaces between buildings. In most cases their classifications are based on different physical attributes of public spaces such as location, physical configuration and usage patterns. While some writers have concerned themselves with analyses of public space through structure, form, and organisation at the city or settlement level, others have focused their analysis of public space at the urban block and project level (Wunderlich 2008).

2.3.1.1 Urban space at the urban block and project level

At the urban block and project level, authors have analysed the physical attributes of three-dimensional urban space, such as size, architectural detail, orientation, geometry, scale, connection, enclosure, image, treatments, design details, landscaping, construction materials, and visual appearance. In his analysis of public space in traditional European cities, Rob Krier (1979: 15) points out that urban space is the most important means for the creation of the built environment and that the city can be divided into two areas, solid and void. Solid could be considered as all buildings and any physical formations on the ground. By way of contrast, void refers to open spaces such as stretches of urban water and to land that is not covered by buildings, in the form of streets, pathways, underpasses, overpasses, squares, plazas, courtyards, playgrounds, and enclosed piazzas (Carmona, Heath et al. 2003).

Krier is notable for his advocacy of a return to traditional urban culture, with its attractive streets, squares and continuous buildings, displaying variations of architectural and spatial configurations, and acquiring visual coherence. Thus, for example, he criticized modernism for imposing a reductive conception of urban space on cities by promoting the idea of free-standing blocks and uniformity of design standards, creating unstructured and

segmented urban spaces. In order to oppose modernism, he based his work on the morphological approach that had been initiated by Camillo Sitte. He reinstated the principle of continuous building and the enclosure of urban spaces by developing typological models of different visual configurations within urban spaces. According to these typologies, urban spaces can be determined by the relationships between the streets and their surrounding buildings and structures, through which they can be classified according to their geometric regularity and the angles of streets running through them (Peponis 1989).

In common with other authors (e.g. Krier 1979, Rossi 1988), Rowe and Koetter (1978), published 'Collage City', in which they clearly stated their interest in formalism, an approach which often emphasizes the modern planning principles and the uniform application of standardized images which led to the spatial fragmentation of cities. Working within the confines of individual projects in order to tackle the issue of how cities come to be dominated by infinitely extensible grid streets, they advocated the alternative idea of place design. This idea was based on the principles of physical containment and the arrangement of discontinuous solids such as housing projects with internalised courtyards. Criticisms have been addressed to Rowe and Koetter (and can also be addressed to other morphologists such as Rop Krier and Aldo Rossi), namely that they sought to define the formal order of urban spaces in terms of superficial regularities at the project or block level and disregarded the context which allows the continuity of urban space at community or city level (Peponis 1989; Carmona, Heath et al. 2003). Although the aim of this local emphasis is to 'regain spatial human experience', Kallus adds that 'the conception of space is abstracted to enable the nature of the space rather than its uses' (Kallus 2001: 129).

2.3.1.2 Urban space at city level

Krier (1979: 15) sees the city as formed essentially of urban spaces in the form of streets, squares and other open spaces. Based on this spatial comprehension of the city, he defines urban space as 'comprising all types of space between buildings in towns and their localities'. Generally speaking, at the city level morphologists show that settlements could be seen in terms of several key elements: land use, building structures, plot and street patterns. These elements can be seen as products of space-creating mechanisms and

the autonomous spatial laws that govern effects on the spatial configuration of the placement of buildings and other physical artefacts in space (Hillier 2002). Challenging the modernist planning and architectural conception of urban space, morphologists centred on the problematic effects of negative urban space which have been considered as the results of an arbitrary application of the grid street system, a system which strongly influences the dynamic of land use and movement. More particularly, analysis of the erosion of urban space became a major theme in this discourse, and was frequently associated with arguments for remedies to repair fragmented cities and urban settings. In many parts of cities all around the world, morphologists have seen a new interest in returning to traditional urban spaces, and in integrating indoor space with outdoor space.

This growing interest has led to the emergence of many attractive and distinctive public spaces that have added artistic quality to newly developed residential areas and urban regeneration projects, thereby enhancing the public realm (Barnett 2003; Carmona, Heath et al. 2003). Additionally, a number of proposals have been put forward that present the city in an abstract fashion, with a structure of integrated spaces that allow continuous and sequential movement. Similarly, at the micro-spatial level, urban space is structured to be a positive entity that is accessible to all and is well integrated with the whole urban context. It is through urban space that a complex range of transitions and connections between locations and human activities occur. Moreover, other street layouts have emerged, such as the continuous curvilinear, the hierarchical system, and discontinuous patterns that are used to enclose views and reduce the visual permeability of the grid system as well as to accommodate the conflict between pedestrians and motor vehicles. This in turn requires changes in the pattern of blocks and the movement system in order to ensure the continuity of urban spaces.

In related work, Halprin (1972: 11) points out that open space has many different types and functions: 'in the most simplified and traditional form, it starts as streets which provide access to buildings, light and air, carries utilities and cars and becomes the very lungs and arteries of the community body'. Likewise, Trancik (1986) developed an urban design framework that derived from a spatial comprehension of the city, linking the urban experience to the notion of positive urban spaces. He based this framework on the three urban design principles of figure ground, linkages, and place. While the concept of figure ground and linkages focused on how urban spaces can be structured in a way that is

visually connected to the surrounding context, the place theory focused on the functional dimensions that address the issues of land use and circulation in a spatially integrated way. Based on this framework, public space can be defined according to its function, its location in the city, how accessible it is from all the other parts of the city, and to what extent it visually maintains an integrated relationship with the surrounding solid areas. Moreover, for this space to be attractive and active, we have to look at it as part of a wider urban context (Kallus 2001). Problematically, the formal-morphological approach hints at the question of architectural determinism, which conceives public space as a positive entity which has an integrated relationship with surrounding buildings, and which can give the city a distinctive character, thereby contributing to the establishment of a desired social order. However, further development of these arguments has shown that, although the morphological perspective helps us comprehend the complexity and the continuity of the urban space, it often remains detached from actual urban use and disregards the social and psychological aspects of life in the city (Lange 1987; Attoe and Logan 1989).

2.3.2 The perceptual dimension

The process of environmental perception has fascinated philosophers throughout human history. In the early 1960s, psychologists and professionals in urban planning and design showed a growing interest in studies of environmental experience which aimed to show how various spatial characteristics play different roles in the ways people relate to their physical environment. Through the second half of the twentieth century, three basic theories emerged to explain human perception. These are: first, cognitive studies based on Gestalt theory (Lynch 1960; Downs and Stea 1973; Gould 1973; Nasar 1998); second, behavioural theory based on transactionalist assumptions (Webber 1964; Hall 1966; Barker 1968; Sommer 1969; Altman 1975); and third, the ecological theory of perception (Gibson 1966; Gibson 1969; Altman 1976; Berry 1976) which focused on the 'lived in' experience associated with the urban environment.

2.3.2.1 Cognitive-perception studies and the Gestalt theory

Starting in Germany in the 1920s, the Gestalt theorists were the first group of psychologists to systematically study human perception. In their work, they claimed that

the process of perception is holistic (Carmona, Heath et al. 2003). 'Gestalt' means that when parts are identified individually, they have different characteristics to the whole. Parts are of secondary importance to the whole, even though they can be clearly seen. In explaining Gestalt theory, Koffka (1935) points out that the environment is 'stimulus providing' in the form of a 'behavioural atmosphere' instead of providing pure stimuli for human behaviour. Gestalt psychologists suggest that all our perceptions are organised into figures. They compiled a list of laws that influence perception of form, seven of which are important for environmental design. These include the laws of proximity, continuity, similarity, closure and symmetry. One of the main characteristics of the Gestalt concept is the stress it places on subjective mental reactions (covert behaviour) to the visual patterns of the environment, as distinct from overt behaviours such as external physical activities (Altman 1976; Tuan 1977; Al-Nowaiser 1982).

Based on the laws of visual organization (isomorphism), many studies by environmental design specialists have been influenced by these concepts. They have used cognitive mapping as a form of systematic inquiry into how people experience the physical environment around them. The most direct source for this attempt to map feelings is the work on image maps which originates from Lynch's work (1960) and its extensions, which have been used to evaluate images at the city scale (Nasar 1998) or the regional or national scale (Gould 1973). Generally speaking, these studies have mainly been concerned with spatial legibility and symbolic values in nature and the human environments (Rofe 2004). Lynch (1960) points out that there are patterns of consensus between different people with regard to their mental image of places and the way they describe them. Similarly, Downs & Stea (1973 cited in Al-Nowaiser 1982:53) argue that 'human spatial behaviour is dependent on the individual's map of the spatial environment'. Thus, a good place or attractive public space is the one that can be mapped mentally and required three attributes: identity, structure and meaning (Lynch 1960; Ford 1999; Rofe 2004).

In short, the literature on the cognitive mapping approach clearly indicates universal agreement that the Gestalt laws of visual organisation are important predictors of the different aspects of the built environment. Moreover, the conclusions reached by authors of cognitive mapping such as Kevin Lynch (1960) and Christian Norberg-Schulz (1971) are very similar in their assertion that order can be achieved through the application of the

Gestalt cognition-perception principles (Lange 1987). In line with their argument, for a place or public space to be highly imageable it has to be perceived as a well defined and structured system of components that are related to each other.

2.3.2.2 The Behavioural approach and transactional philosophy

The fundamental goal of the behavioural sciences approach is to describe and explain phenomena such as the space-society relationship, with the aim of predicting future patterns of activity. The term 'behavioural sciences' is generally assumed to comprise anthropology, sociology, psychology, and sometimes economic and political science. With the development of these sciences, many thinkers have come to believe that perception of the human environment is not only a process of sensory experience but is linked to experience in perception and has to do with the dynamic relationship between person and environment (Lange 1987).

In an attempt to generate debate, Relph (1976: 106), for example, contends that environmental images and a sense of place are 'not just selective abstractions of an objective reality but are intentional interpretations of what is or what is not believed to be'. This suggests that a sense of place does not reside in the physical environment itself, but rests in a human interpretation of that environment (Jorgensen and Stedman 2001). In line with this, behavioural theory can be defined as a perspective that emphasizes overt social behaviour, this being an individual's essential behavioural pattern that marks him out from his environment. Moreover, authors ascribe to this approach point out that, although spatial behaviour can be affected by physical and socio-cultural factors, personal traits and psychological needs such as privacy, territoriality and links to the community are the primary determinant (Webber 1964; Hall 1966; Barker 1968; Sommer 1969; Altman 1975; Lange 1987).

With regard to the intellectual underpinning that lies behind the behavioural perspective, Lange (1987) noted that it is based mainly on a number of theoretical frameworks such as the transactional philosophy of Dewey and Bentley (1949), the psychology of Adelbert Ames (1960), and the sociology of George Mead (1903). According to the assumptions behind transactional theory, for example, the process of perception is multimodal, active not passive, and governed by experience and predisposition. The image of the

environment that an observer has is influenced by past experience as well as present motives and attitudes (Lange 1987: 90).

Tuan (1977) declares that a place is a centre of meaning that emphasizes human emotion and relations. Likewise, Relph argues that attachment to a place grows through time and is based on the interaction between people and their setting rather than being determined by the physical environment alone. In line with this, physical attributes such as location are not enough to create a sense of place. This sense emerges from interactions between space and society. Based on the context of the behavioural approach, public space can be defined as a place that is more than the morphological definition of a geographic setting with a definitive physical structure and textual characteristics; it is, rather, a fluid, changeable, and dynamic context for social interaction and memory. In this sense, personal or group engagement with space over time can be viewed as a process that gives space its meaning and helps establish connections for it in the public sector (Lange 1987).

2.3.2.3 The ecological theory of perception

The ecological theory of perception asserts that the human mind with the help of sensory arrays recognises spatial and temporal information in the external world. This sensory input provides information that can be perceived by the brain, such as feedback from the optic arrays, which contain all the visual information available at the retina. This then acts as an internal force (covert behaviour) which constantly passes instructions to the human body, and this in turn, is translated into physical actions (overt behaviour) such as verbal, non-verbal, and emotionally-oriented conduct (Altman 1976). Based on this context, person-space interfaces are the product of complicated interactions between human behaviour (both covert and overt) and the various dimensions of the environment such as socio-cultural norms, nature, economy and changes in the environment (Al-Nowaiser 1982).

With regard to the intellectual underpinning of the ecological theory of perception, Lang (1987) and Bosselmann (2008) point out that it is mainly based on the work of James Gibson (1966), who argues that the right level for describing perception is ecology, not physics or geometry, as adopted in conventional theories of perception such as the Gestalt theory. Zhang & Patel (2006) point out that for the conventional theory, perception is the

processing of the retinal image formed by stimuli in the environment. It is a one-way perception. According to Gibson, however, perception of the environment is also perception of the self (Gibson and Gibson 1955). Based on the assumption of ecological theory, the meaning of public space is derived from clues that are perceived, verified and committed to memory. Since the perceptual experience of the observer of these spaces is shaped by sensory processes (e.g. the optic array) that vary according to changing conditions over time, its meaning will differ for those who look at them from above (as in the case of remote sensing from satellites) and those who perceive them directly as they walk through a city. This perception also differs between those who produce or regulate cities and those who actually use them afterwards (Madanipour 1996).

In summary, the perceptual dimension of the built environment emerged as a reaction to modern functionalism and the abstraction of the morphological approach. According to this perspective, for urban design to provide public spaces it is imperative to take into account how the visual organization of public spaces and their surrounding artefacts is made legible and how it provides a spatial context for the public domain in order to establish group or social identity. Moreover, in organizing public space it is imperative to consider how we may maximize some form of congruence between the meanings communicated by these spaces and the behaviour of their users, in a way that is conducive to the evocation of spatial meanings that serve to create bonds between them (Rapoport 1982; Lange 1987; Altman and Low 1992; Madanipour 1997).

2.3.3 The social dimension

In broad terms, the social dimension views urban public spaces as spatial manifestations of social institutions and large groupings of people. It concentrates on people and on the processes at work in the city, as well as people's relationships with these spaces. This section focuses on four key aspects of the social dimension. The first focuses on the theoretical antecedents of the social dimension. The second discusses the interrelated concepts of public realm and public life. The third sheds light on the concept of social exclusion. The fourth discusses the characteristics of public spaces that afford social interaction.

2.3.3.1 *The theoretical antecedents of the social dimension of the built environment*

In the twentieth century, social urban theory emerged as an integral part of the general social theories influenced by the Chicago school of sociology (human ecology) that emerged in the early 20th century. This school specialized in urban geography through the work of men like Ernest Watson Burgess (1886 – 1966) and Nels Anderson (1889–1986). The latter based his theory of the evolution of urban areas on two positive paradigms: determinism and environmentalism, investigating the ways in which the built environment has affected the development of societies by directing urban planning and social intervention agencies (Madanipour 1996).

From the 1950s onward, the conceptual basis of urban geography was reoriented as a result of the emergence of two new paradigms, both of which were developed as critiques of the mainstream paradigms used in urban sociology. These two paradigms are behavioural studies and political-economic analyses, and they involve the critical interpretation of the space-society relationship (radical geography). They aim to broaden the scope of urban studies by focusing on the subjective and political–economic consideration of urban phenomena (Madanipour 1996). Six major theoretical frameworks may be identified as the intellectual foundations of the social reality approach to urban planning and design. These include:

1. The sociology of knowledge as defined in the phenomenological sociology of the Austrian scientist Alfred Schutz (1964, 1967) who concerned with the systematic reflection on and analysis of the structures of consciousness and strongly influenced by the founder of phenomenology the German philosopher Edmund Husserl (1859- 1938) and believe that experience is the source of all knowledge (Barber 2004).
2. The structuralist affirmation that social reality is an interplay of universal mental structures which can be discovered through systematic analysis, as elaborated in works of Claude Levi Strauss (1963), Jean Piaget (1970), Michel Foucault (1965; 1977) and Roland Barthes (1972).
3. The work of German philosopher Jürgen Habermas (1979) on theories of communicative action; the studies of social evolution derived from another

German, the sociologist Max Weber (1947; 1958); and the theories of American sociologist Talcott Parsons (1949; 1951) within the tradition of Western Marxism.

4. Neo-Marxist urban theories as defined in the work of Henri Lefebvre (1947), David Harvey (1973) and Manuel Castells (1977) who focused on the social-scientific interpretation of humanistic Marxism and the role urban space played in the processes of capital accumulation and collective consumption.
5. The concept of the public sphere advocated by Hannah Arendt (1958), Jürgen Habermas (1962), and others from the liberal tradition such as Calhoun (1992).
6. The concept of 'social exclusion' advocated by Ali Madanipour (1998) and Byrne (1999) who argue that economic, political and cultural discrimination in contemporary European cities leads to spatial separation and social disintegration.

Berger and Luckmann (1967) - students of Schutz (1899- 1959) – point out that the term 'sociology of knowledge' first came into widespread use in the 1920s when a number of German sociologists, most notably Max Scheler (1874-1928) and Karl Mannheim (1893-1947), wrote extensively on it and claimed that all knowledge, dogma and beliefs are the products of socio-political forces. In line with this, in order to discover the relationship between human thought and social context, we need to understand the structures and processes of consciousness that lay the basis for and constitute social reality. Moreover, we cannot understand social beliefs and behaviours unless we refer them to their historical and cultural contexts (Fathy 1988). In his a phenomenological sociology Schutz (1967) concentrate on the structure of the common sense-world and define his concept of 'receipt knowledge' as an essential for the individual to interact with others in social life.

The second foundation of the social dimension is structuralist theory, which was a fashionable movement in France in the 1950s and 1960s. It is a method of analyzing phenomena, such as those that occur in anthropology, that are characterized by a contrast of the elementary structures of the phenomena in a system of dialectical opposition. It

forms the basis for semiotics (the study of signs) and offers the advantage of a socially constructed symbolic meaning of urban forms (Hawkes 1977).

In psychology, following the Cartesian and Leibnizian ideas, for the structuralist a man comes equipped with specifically delineated hypotheses about the world and the environment. It is argued that all human brains are programmed with a series of universal rules that are shaped by sociological, psychological and linguistic structures over which he has no control (Gardner 1973; Fathy 1988). Building on the theories of the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913), Lévi-Strauss (1963) formulates his anthropological structuralism around the conceptualization of the universal structures of the mind. According to this, language is socially produced and can be considered as a medium of social interaction (Larrian 1979: 130). He also incorporates propositions of the Gestalt school of psychology, Marxism, and Freudianism in order to establish the foundations of structuralism.

In similar vein, in disciplines like sociology, political science, and anthropology, the idea of structure refers to the repetitive models that are found in the study of social, economic, political, and cultural life. Structuralists maintain that all social reality is the interplay of unconscious mental structures (Fathy 1988). Moreover, they contend that no element can be examined or understood outside its context or the structure of which it is a part. According to this view, patterns and process are affected by underlying structural imperatives. Structuralists seek to understand society by probing into these underlying structures (Madanipour 1996: 57). Konox and Pinch (2000: 4) state that the structuralist 'looks to political science for its explanatory concepts, focusing on the idea of power and conflict as the main determinants of locational behaviour and resource allocation'. In related work, Dear and Scott (1981) point out that structuralists believe the structure of society determines the function of the state rather than those individuals who occupy positions of power; they also conceive of the state as a constituent of a class-based society.

The third theoretical foundation for the social dimension is the theory of communicative action and the theory of social evolution was explored by Jürgen Habermas (1968) and was based on semiotics studies. The concept of communicative action emphasises the interactions in which two or more subjects seek to reach an understanding concerning

their shared situation. As argued by Thompson (1984: 284 cited in Fathy 1988: 20), in the act of communication, 'the participants overcome their subjective views and assure the unity of the objective world and sustain the inter-subjectivity of their life-relations'. Habermas's entire conceptual framework is focused around social interaction and communication, and he ties rationality to everyday speech. In formulating the theory of social evolution, Habermas argues that the development of our views of the world can be established as a progressive demarcation of the objective and social worlds from the subjective reading of the world (Thompson 1984).

Based on the above intellectual frameworks, one could argue that urban designers might create potential urban settings but that the spatial organization of these settings cannot determine human actions and the behaviour of the public. What determines human actions and the shape of the built environment are social values. These values may be considered, not only as the legitimate basis for collective action, but also as qualities reflected on aspects of the urban fabric, such as public spaces. As Lawson (2001) points out, people collectively inhabiting an area tend to make rules governing their use of space. These rules are not only a matter of socio-cultural convention but also reflect their psychological characteristics. In the following sections, Neo-Marxist urban theory and the concepts of public sphere and social exclusion will be briefly explained.

2.3.3.2 Social production and construction of urban space

The main rival to human ecology in spatial analysis and social science studies has been political economic analysis in capitalist doctrine. In the late 1960s, the complexities of spatial changes caused by industrialization led to the emergence of the subjective reading of urban space. This occurred after the neoclassical models of ecological theory of 1930s could no longer explain these changes. As pointed out previously in section (2.3.3.1), this led to the development of behaviouralism and the political-economic approach (Madanipour 1996). The political-economic perspective originated in the social movements of the 1960s, which encouraged minorities to wrestle for increased political power, and was formulated in the 1970s by the work of Henri Lefebvre, David Harvey and Manuel Castells who turned to Marxist political economy for theoretical frameworks and conceptual resources, with a further aim of establishing an alternative approach to neoclassical models of spatial analysis (ecological theory) (Ardena 2004: 169).

Broadly speaking, based on historical materialism and a Marxist reading of the capitalist city (dialectical relationships between space and society), a constellation of writers (e.g. Habermas 1962; Lefebvre 1974; Castells 1977; Hervey 1985; Knox 1987; Dear 1989; Hall 1998) came to view urban space as a mediator of ideological hegemony and cultural identity. The ways in which public space is organised or actual physical and spatial forms of buildings and spaces are produced were to symbolize either the power exerted by different human agents (e.g. the territorial expansion of capitalism) or organizations (e.g. collective consumption and social movements). In its turn, this power manifests itself in the framework of daily life and the superimposition of spatial forms that have changed social relations (King 1990; Ardena 2004). Following the philosophical orientation furnished by Marxist humanism in France, Lefebvre (1991) aligned his work on the production of space and the concept of everyday life towards the more stringent social scientific interpretations of Marx. He introduced subjectivity into the political-economic understanding of the space-society relationship and argued that Marxism as a whole can be considered as a critical knowledge of everyday life (Ardena 2004: 169). Moreover, in establishing the concept of everyday life, he criticized semiology or semiotics (the symbolic approach) and described it as 'an incomplete body of knowledge' for understanding the production of urban space (Madanipour 1996).

According to Lefebvre social space is a relationship or series of events that produce and lead to the materiality of the built environment in which we live. In line with this view, the organization of the built environment is fundamentally dependent on the production of space, which is socially produced. Lefebvre further points out that, in the big cities of capitalist societies, as a consequence of the market-oriented spatial system and the capitalist production relations which promote market-oriented political values, urban space has been colonised by commodities in order to serve the interests of the economically dominant class (Dear 1989; Madanipour 1996; Arefi and Meyers 2003).

Based on Lefebvre's conceptualization of the social production of space and everyday life perspectives, a number of writers have focused their renewal of radical urban theory on the relationship between urban space and political consciousness. David Harvey (1973; 1985; 2006), for example, argues that the production and consumption processes of urban spaces represent a dialectical relationship (production versus consumption, workplace versus neighbourhood, etc.). While the production process creates the urban materiality

which in turn affects the way this process takes place, the consumption process influences both the production and the material space itself. In this respect, Ardena (2004) maintains that 'space plays a mediating role between the social totality and the representations of our relationship to that totality ("ideology")'. Therefore, Castells (1977) argues, in order to understand what constitutes an urban space; we need to investigate the relationship between the processes of production and consumption, processes that give meaning to that space. Based on this emphasis, Clark and Dear (1986: 2) argue that 'socio-spatial processes are comprehensible only within the context of an historical analysis of the social relations of production and reproduction'. In short, according to the normative emphasis on the social dimension of space, 'the physical space that we perceive, create and use is embedded in our daily practices and through charting the process of its making that we can understand this environment' (Madanipour 1996: 20).

2.3.3.3 The concept of the public sphere

In urban design the terms 'public sphere' or 'public realm' are fundamental to politics and social life and are frequently used interchangeably alongside the concepts of public life or public space, suggesting that they are synonymous (Mitchell 1995). The terms 'public' and 'private' stand unequivocally in opposition to each other. As observed by Kamerman and Kahn (1989), the public sphere may be conceived as an open and visible expanse, such as a public market place or a relationship, such as public sociability. While economists use public versus private to denote the contrast between state and market, sociologists concerned with culture consider the marketplace and the family as private domains (Madanipour 2003). In political terms, 'the grade of privacy as a necessary condition for the public is an important indicator in both democratic and non-democratic societies' (Engel 2006: 161). In socialist societies, for example, since their ideology reinforces the socialist aim of abolishing class and social differences, there is no boundary between private space and public space as all open spaces in the urban environment are normally public, and private spheres should meld with public sphere.

Many researchers affirm that there is a complex relationship between the public sphere and public space. Public space is sometimes presented as the material aspects of the public sphere or the public sphere is presented as an ideal of public space (Garba 2007). In defining her conception of citizenship, Hannah Arendt (1958) points out that the public

sphere is the arena that is accessible for diverse groups of people as a space in which to gather and debate. Based on Arendt's conception of the public sphere, Jürgen Habermas (1962) viewed public life as a stage in which political participation is enacted through the medium of communication or as a realm of social life in which public opinion can be engendered through discussion which in turn influences political action and assists in forming a more consistent preference for long-term social interests.

Regarding the decline of the public life, Arendt (1958) argues that the structural changes in the political and physical environments caused the public realm to lose its political character. Thus, to enable social integration, she asks for greater disclosure of information in order to improve our social capacity to make choices in a democratic society. Ellin (1996) argues that the social activities of traditional public spaces have been transferred to the private realm. Carmona et al (2003) emphasized increased personal mobility and stressed the introduction of cars as one of the major factors which led to the decline of the public realm. Others such as Graham (2001) saw the decline of public sphere as a result of managerial and institutional factors which have restricted the consumption of public areas such as streets and public parks. Some commentators (e.g. Carr 1992) have noted that the decline in the consumption of public areas can be attributed to the change in socio-cultural and lifestyle transformations. As will be elaborated in greater details in the next chapter (Section 3.3.1: The changing nature of public space), a central argument of the above studies is that the concept of the public sphere has undergone a deep transformation within modern cities under spatial, socio-political, cultural, and fiscal influences.

2.3.3.4 The concept of social exclusion

Regarding the rhetoric of social exclusion, Madanipour (2003a: 183) has contributed to this discussion, linking political economy theories with the social production of urban spaces. In defining the term social exclusion, he points out that it is a socio-spatial phenomenon caused by the absence of social integration together with the fragmentation of the modern urban environment. He further maintains that 'the division of social life into public and private spheres means drawing boundaries round some spatial and temporal domains and excluding others from these domains'. Many ethnic groups, for example are divided by national borders. Like the concept of the public sphere, that of social exclusion revolves around access, whether it is access to decision-making or to resources or to

common narratives. Carmona et al (2003: 124) point out that 'while by definition, the public realm should be accessible to all, some environments are – intentionally or unintentionally – less accessible to certain sections of society'. Broadly speaking, the issue of social exclusion raises 'a variety of theoretical problems concerning the social control of the built environment, the reproduction of the environment and the reproduction of societies' (King 1990: 116).

In reference to this, Ruddick (1996: 135) points out that 'city space has been gendered in a way that tends to exclude women from the public realm, or to include them only in highly scripted and delimited roles'. Examples of the manifestation of social exclusion are the rigid spatial segregation on racial criteria in the colonial city and the privatized spaces in modern cities such as gated communities and shopping malls (Cybriwsky 1999). Madanipour (1998) points out that the space of the city is shaped by many forms and levels of boundaries, each with a multi-level configuration and separate sets of meaning. This in turn has led to the spatial segregation of activities in terms of class, ethnicity, race, age, type of occupation, use, identity and so on.

Social exclusion can be also discussed in terms of urban policies and management practices for regulating urban developments and protecting public spaces. Some strategies and formal rules and regulations seek to exclude particular individuals or to prevent access by specific social groups to specific places. This is achieved by a mixture of the legal social control of space and the use of physical design strategies for the spatial organization of space (Carmona, Heath et al. 2003; Madanipour 2003a). Exclusion can be also connected to the reduction of public expenditure for social welfare programmes and support for the privatization of public amenities, something which would exclude groups who previously benefited from these programmes and subsequently caused social breakdown (Byrne 1999). Starr (1989) points out that in big cities of the capitalist societies, as a consequence of the market-oriented spatial system and capitalist production relations which promote market-oriented political values, urban spaces have been colonised by a commodified system in order to serve the interests of the economically dominant class (Dear 1989; Madanipour 1996). In this sense, exclusion can be considered as a manifestation of power, which purposefully reduces accessibility to space to protect specific interests, and this in turn reduces the public character of the public realm (Akkar 2005).

It should be noted that, in today's cities, although there is growing interest in a more inclusive public realm, the social segregation of urban space and the damaging effects of exclusion became a trend when public fear regarding social difference became increasingly heightened. Starr (1989) argued that the change in the public/ private balance caused a shift from the open and transparent public realm to the private domain, which is closed to scrutiny and access. In doing so we are collectively expressing our desire for exclusiveness and narrowing the vision of an inclusive society and an accessible public sphere. Therefore, to help designers create urban spaces that promote social integration greater spatial freedom should be emphasized in planning and management practices set up to regulate the production of these spaces (Madanipour 2003a).

2.3.3.5 Public spaces and neighbourhoods as sites for social interaction

It is generally accepted in the literature that public space is a suitable location for social interaction, chance encounters, free assembly, cultural displays and celebrations (Mitchell 1995). Lefebvre (1991) argues that every society throughout history has shaped a distinctive social space that meets the requirements of economic production and social functioning (Arefi and Meyers 2003). Walzed (1986: 470) maintains that public space is the 'space for politics, religion, commerce, sport, for peaceful coexistence and impersonal encounter'. Research studies have also emphasized that there are many factors that may influence social interaction in urban space. These include physical (planning and design) and non-physical factors. Examples of non-physical factors are the personal (personality, individual traits, interpersonal dynamics and attitudes), formal social factors (police, rules and regulations), and informal social factors (financial resources, time, health, activities, etc.) (Williams 2005).

With regard to the physical factors, the normative theories of urban planning and design contain many assertions about how the organization of urban spaces affects interactions between people. Osmond (1966 cited in Lang 1987: 160) introduced the terms sociopetal and sociofugal to describe spaces that induce or discourage social interaction. Sociopetal spaces are those in which face-to-face contact, particularly eye contact, is easy to maintain and where people can easily meet one another. In contrast, sociofugal layouts are those where it is easy to avoid interaction with others and where gathering in groups is difficult.

In reference to this, Lang (1987) argues that social interactions occur when people's social needs are balanced by a sense of privacy. Undefined spaces that are neither public nor private tend to discourage interactions between people, since it is difficult for them to organize such interactions. In short, according to the social reality approach, public space can be defined as a place where some form of social interaction has been made possible. Looked at from within the social dimension, if we are to understand public spaces we need to look at the geometry of social relations in structuring the city, and we need to evaluate how these spaces are produced within the wider context of the societal process (Madanipour 1992).

2.3.4 The visual–aesthetic dimension

Many commentators have questioned whether the visual or aesthetic qualities of an urban setting can be appreciated for their own sake. In developing the idea of the townscape at the end of World War II in 1945, Gordon Cullen argued that, just as there is an art of architecture there is also an art of relationship, 'in which all the elements which go to the making of an environment, buildings, trees, nature, water, traffic, advertisements and so on are woven together in such a way that drama is released' (Broadbent 1990: 218). Building on Cullen's argument, the urban environment can be apprehended entirely through vision as this vision evokes our memories, experiences and emotions (Cullen 1971).

In this respect, Bacon (1975: 322) points out that the city can be seen as a 'work of art made up of two elements of the architecture of movement and the architecture of repose'. Rapoport (1982) maintains that the visual qualities of the built environment are always accompanied by some level of meaningful experience. Similarly, Carmona et al. (2003) argue for an aesthetic appreciation of the urban environment that is not only visual but is also a product of perception and cognition. Likewise, Bosselmann (2008: 117) argues that 'unconsciously or consciously all individuals react to visual clues, interpret their meaning and act on the information perceived'. In line with the above discussion, one would argue that, according to the visual-aesthetic theory, a public space can be regarded as a work of art that can be visually and mentally appreciated by its users or observers. This section focuses on two key issues. The first is made up of the aesthetic qualities of urban spaces

and townscapes, while the second concerns itself with the design elements that define and occupy urban spaces.

2.3.4.1 The aesthetic qualities of urban space and townscape

Urban spaces can be classified in terms of positive and negative space. While positive space is relatively enclosed and has a distinctive shape, negative space is shapeless and difficult to conceive (Trancik 1986). Three major elements can be identified in order to create a positive urban space: the surrounding structures, the floor, and the imaginary sphere of the sky overhead, assumed to be about three to four times the height of the tallest building (Carmona, Heath et al. 2003). This means that the degree of enclosure and spatial containment partially depends on the ratio of the width of the space to the height of the surrounding buildings. Moreover, when a group of buildings are arranged in a way that creates a sense of spatial containment, a positive space can be created.

To understand better the aesthetic qualities of public spaces, the ideas of Camillo Sitte and Paul Zuker are of particular value. Having advocated a picturesque approach to urban space design, based on an analysis of the visual and aesthetic qualities of European urban spaces, Camillo Sitte (1889), derived a set of artistic principles. These include: enclosure, freestanding sculptural mass, the proportional shape of a space to the surrounding buildings, and the placement of public statuary or monuments (Carmona, Heath et al. 2003). Likewise, Paul Zucker (1959) outlines five basic types of artistically relevant urban spaces. These are: first, the closed square which is the complete enclosed space. Second, the dominated square which is characterised by a building or group of buildings towards which the space is arranged. Third is the nuclear square which is formed around a centre. Fourth are the grouped squares which are aesthetically related and which provide a successive mental image that can be integrated into a greater whole. And fifth is the amorphous square which displays unlimited space (Carmona, Heath et al. 2003). The aesthetic qualities of streets and squares can also be produced by emphasising the continuity principle in addition to the enclosure. According to this principle, a public space network should create a series of townscape effects that involve changing views and vistas, the interplay of landmarks, and the weaving together of buildings and streets so that the visual drama can be released (Cullen 1971).

2.3.4.2 *Design principles that define urban space*

Aesthetically and professionally, there are many different ways to design the urban environment and to treat its urban spaces in a way that transforms them into pleasant places. According to Cullen's idea of serial vision (1971), the environment can be successfully arranged if the designer carefully considers the relationship between the human body and the physical space. Moreover, it is his view that, since the experience of the urban environment is a dynamic activity involving movement and time, such an environment should be designed from the point of view of the moving person (Gehl 2000; Carmona, Heath et al. 2003). He emphasised that a visually delightful urban setting or a sense of identity for a place can be produced by a number of principles. These include encouragement of a sense of individual places and an awareness of drama by providing recognizable landmarks, memorable situations, enclaves, enclosures, focal points, precincts, closed vistas, deflections, projections, colonnades, arcades, irregular places and so on (Broadbent 1990; Carmona, Heath et al. 2003).

Similarly, Kevin Lynch in his work 'The Image of the City' (1960) approaches the visual quality of the city by emphasizing the importance of analysing the mental images it creates, and which are held in the consciousness of all its citizens. In particular, he looks for clarity and legibility in the cityscape and has identified several key elements that construct images of the city itself: paths, edges, districts, nodes, and landmarks (Ford 1999; Carmona, Heath et al. 2003). At the project or urban block level, Lynch maintains that the visual-aesthetic qualities of urban spaces derive not only from their spatial arrangement but also from the colour, texture and detailing of their defining surfaces. More to the point, the quality in a physical object or an urban space which gives it a high probability of evoking a strong image in any given observer is its imageability – something that depends on the way the designer treats its overall organisation, colour and design details in order to facilitate the making of vividly identified mental images (Broadbent 1990: 227).

Most importantly, there is a consensus among social-science-oriented researchers and urban designers about the generally mediocre quality of public spaces in post-war urban developments. This can be attributed to the fact that the human dimension of the built environment was often reduced to aesthetic criteria that reflect no more than the

aspirations of design professionals. The latter chose to ignore the utilitarian aspects of these spaces as well as their potential as a framework of social power. Consequently the designs of these spaces appeared to prompt a depressing uniformity, in which they pushed aside traditional urban designs and architectural principles (Kallus 2001). Some commentators (e.g. Punter 1999; 2007) have criticized modern aesthetic control in the UK as 'putting lipstick on the gorilla'. In order to enhance the visual qualities of modern developments, some urban specialists (e.g. Lang 2005; Carmona and Tiesdell 2007; Madanipour 2007) argue that aesthetic qualities must be linked to a broad multi-dimensional urban planning and design strategy that promotes urban design quality and ensures the delivery of meaningful developments.

2.3.5 The functional dimension

Traditionally, definition of functional modernist architecture and urban design as it appeared in the work of Bauhaus, the de Stijl movement in Holland, and to the Rationalism of Le Corbusier came to mean hygienic, cost efficient, and efficient in the circulation of people and traffic flow while conveniently providing the basic necessities of life. By the 1960s, authors such as Jacobs (1961) points out that such a definition is a very limited one as the designs based on this purely functional requirement became dull and irresponsive to change. Today the definition of functionalism of urban design has become more complex than that of the Modernists as it extended to concern with the broad ranges of needs of diverse people and the mechanisms and tools that can be used to meet those needs (Lang 1994 cited in Carmona and Tiesdell 2007). In brief, the concept of urban space, as incorporated into urban design discourse in the last 30 years, is related to two distinctive concepts: the 'architectural space' and the 'social space'. The main difference between the two concepts is in the treatment of the city as a spatial urban fabric in which the forms are independent of function, in contrast to the view that one should consider the city's form as determined by function (Kallus 2001; Carmona, Heath et al. 2003). This section concerns itself with how public space operates and what it means to people. More to the point, it focuses on two sets of functional considerations. While the first set is concerned with the use of public spaces, the second set concentrates on how urban designers can make successful public spaces from a functional perspective.

2.3.5.1 *The use of public space*

The use of public space can be related to the way it is planned, designed, constructed and managed. In urban planning terms, Newman (1972) classified urban spaces into four categories, namely public, semi-public, semi-private and private. With regard to the question of how the planning of public spaces affects their patterns of use, Jacobs (1961) points out that, in order to enhance the public realm, urban planners and designers should consider interweaving activities and having buildings which contain a mixture of uses. This means that a sufficient density of activities and people can be viewed as a prerequisite for creating well used public spaces and the enhancement of public life. From the morphological point of view, Peterson (1979: 76) states that urban space is 'the prerequisite medium from which the whole fabric of urbanism emerges'.

According to this, the city becomes a spatial formation of open spaces such as streets and squares. The space analyst Bill Hillier (1966) points out that well-connected urban spaces are more likely to encourage pedestrian movement and to support a broad range of activities. Moreover, he argues that patterns of natural movement and space are more important than land use in determining movement densities and quality alongside encounter rates. In criticizing Hillier's theory of the geometric properties of the spatial configuration of urban spaces, Carmona et al. (2003) argue that although Hillier's mechanistic view of people and their behaviour supports predictions that correlate highly with observed patterns of pedestrian movement, he ignores the purpose of the movement – which is related to users' association with the function of urban spaces – nor does he consider the issues of accessibility and the visual qualities of these spaces. Accordingly, successful public spaces can be brought into being by carefully studying the relationship between space configuration, land use and movement, especially that of pedestrians. With regard to the question of how design, construction and management affect the consumption of public space, urban designers from the formal-morphological approach would argue with Krier (1979) that urban space is a physical object that can be architecturally and aesthetically manipulated to attract people. Similarly, Alexander et al (1977) assert that a physical object placed in the middle of a public space such as a fountain, tree, statue, clock-tower with seats, bandstand and so on could help in providing a distinctive character which in turn prompts triangulation. Carmona et al. (2003) point out that well integrated public spaces surrounded by the edges of buildings could help in

adding vitality to the public realm. The idea as argued by Barnett (1986) is that more attention should be giving to the aspects of the monumental city design tradition which emphasize that spaces should be enclosed and giving definitive form in order to establish continuity from building to building as well as monumental spatial relationship..

Commenting on the different approach to public space design, Kallus (2001) points out that, while urban designers (especially those associated with postmodern urban criticism such as Rossi (1988), Krier (1979) and others treat urban space as a void entity (an architectural space) that has an integrated relationship with the surrounding solids, the normative urban designers (e.g. Lynch 1960) and social science-oriented researchers tend to treat urban spaces as intermittent and incremental phenomena which focus on the way people perceive, conceive and interact with these spaces (social space). In line with this, one would argue that the way public spaces are planned, designed, constructed and managed affect their consumption patterns. Therefore, as will be explained in the following section in greater detail, to produce successful public spaces and ensure their vitality, urban designers should not only focus on enhancing the morphological qualities of these spaces but should also understand the everyday spatial experience and the real needs of their users.

2.3.5.2 The principles of making functional public spaces

Many urban theorists and specialists highlight factors affecting the use of public spaces according to different perspectives. From objective reality and the morphological approach Krier (1979), for example, points out that a good urban space which adds vitality to public life is one that is visually integrated with the surrounding buildings. Carmona et al (2008) note that many contemporary and historic spaces which are well designed have experienced decline. Thus the quality of public spaces depends not only on how well these spaces are designed but more importantly on how well they are managed and maintained. Based on a subjective reading of the built environment, Christopher Alexander and his collaborators (1977) point out that a successful urban setting or urban space is one that has the ability to evoke a deep and personal feeling of wellbeing and make us feel whole. Commenting on the different approaches, Carmona et al (2008: 4) say 'what is clear is that the quality of the physical environment, and therefore physical public space and spaces as a social milieu, relate centrally to each other'. Carr et al

(1992) identify five basic needs that people experience in public spaces. The good public space is the one that serves more than one of the following indicators or design criteria: These include comfort, relaxation, passive engagement with the environment, active engagement with the environment, and discovery. The sense of comfort can be enhanced by the way a public space is designed, by considering environmental factors, physical comfort and the social and psychological comfort of those who pass through or remain in it, the relaxation principles are related to the way its designers have integrated natural elements such as trees and greenery, making it easier for users to relax and providing a pleasant sanctuary for them to take refuge in.

The passive engagement design criterion involves the need for encounter with the setting, albeit without becoming actively involved. This can be provided – as has been argued by Carmona et al (2003) – by the incorporation of attractive design elements such as fountains, views, public art, performances and so forth in the design of public spaces that have been situated adjacent to the pedestrian flow. In contrast, active engagement involves making the direct experience of the public with public spaces more enjoyable. Whyte (1980), for example, found that, for a public space to be ideal, it has to provide opportunities for contact and spontaneous social interaction. Regarding the discovery design criteria Carmona et al (2003) point out that these are related to variety and change in the way public space is managed and designed or animated. They argue that this involves a break from routine and requires some sense of unpredictability by incorporating attractive elements and programmes such as concerts, art exhibitions, festivals, parades, markets and other social events such as trade promotion.

Regarding the question of how to create social public spaces Whyte (1980) points out that the most social spaces usually possess four key features: a good location, being level with the pavement and the inclusion of sitting areas as well as movable seats that allow for choice. Moreover, he argues that, although the shape and size of a space are helpful in making public areas successful, they are not the most important factors. Pasaogullari and Dortalı (2004: 227) have stressed that poor accessibility is one of the major deterrents affecting the use of public spaces. As they state, 'once a public space is accessible, other factors have also a role to play in defining and affecting the quality of the public space, which in turn, increase its utilization by citizens'.

Furthermore, Williams (2005) identifies a set of factors that encourage social interaction within residential neighbourhoods. These include: the physical and functional proximity of public space to buildings, visual and physical accessibility, the size of the community, the homogeneity and mobility of residents, dwelling density, the quality of public spaces in terms of design and maintenance, the use of semi-private space and communal spaces which increase the potential for surveillance of outdoor areas for prolonged periods, the availability of shared pathways and sidewalks to the site of activities, and the hierarchy of public space provision (Van-Melik, Van-Aalst et al. 2007; Alfonzo, Boarnet et al. 2008). On the whole, recent research on current changes taking place in the role of public spaces reveals multiple opinions among writers; different writers from different perspectives maintain their own conception of how to produce public space and to advance specific frameworks. Thus, for urban designers to create pluralistic spaces and ensure their vitality, it is imperative to recognize the complexity of the spatial urban system while understanding the socio-cultural specificities of their users. In other words, as these spaces facilitate a wide range of activities, their provision should be informed by considering both objective and subjective realities.

2.3.6 The temporal dimension

As indicated previously in section 2.2.1, Albert Einstein views space and time as parts of the same continuum rather than as separate entities, and according to him special existence is completely represented by a field which depends on a four-dimensional parameter instead of a Euclidean three-dimensional geometrical parameter. In line with this, urban design increasingly came to consider urban space as four-dimensional, where the fourth dimension is time. Accordingly, the temporal dimension of urban design as pointed out by Lynch (1972) considers time and space as a framework within which we arrange our life experience. In this respect Carmona et al. (2003) argue that, since both natural and urban environments are perceived and used differently at different times, understanding of the effect of the time cycle and related activities, would, therefore, enable urban designers and managers to exploit the dynamic time cycle in order to bring greater variety and interest to public spaces, thereby enriching the public realm. This section is concerned with two themes within the temporal perspective of public spaces. The first focuses on how urban spaces change over time and the second concerns itself with the notion that the construction of public spaces is implemented over time.

2.3.6.1 Changes in the built environment and urban space over time

The temporal dimension of public space is based on the fact that space and society always undergo dynamic change. This dynamic change, caused by alterations in the technological, economical and socio-cultural realms, is reflected in urban spaces and irreversibly changes their history (Carmona, Heath et al. 2003). It usually takes place in two ways: through the temporal pattern of consumption in urban spaces that renews daily life, and through the progressive reorganization of these spaces to fit the changing and regenerating needs of people and their preferences over time (Garba 2007). Furthermore, this change can be at times gradual and small scale or at others sudden and dramatic. According to Kostof (cited in Madanipour, 1996: 4), three processes that lead to urban change can be identified. These include natural disasters, which have the capacity to initiate immediate changes in the urban fabric; large scale interventions by the authorities in urban development; and incremental changes that occur as a result of the thousands of small-scale physical actions that continually take place in urban environments.

As a reaction to the physical transformation of cities and the socio-cultural changes that accompanied it, by the mid 1960s and early 1970s, following widespread public protests and academic studies, new policies were introduced by governments in order to protect the uniqueness of traditional places and to retain their distinctive character and identity (Carmona, Heath et al. 2003). In this respect, Aldo Rossi (1982) who advocated physical continuity in pre-industrial places, argued that the permanence of the texture of buildings lining streets and squares, as well as large scale buildings, was then viewed as an urban policy that would help re-establish the cultural qualities these places as meaningful sites whose presence not only gives the city its uniqueness but also embodies its memory and regulates its socio-cultural life. As an alternative attitude to the physical preservation of traditional places, Lynch (1972) suggested the notion of adaptability in order to accommodate the present without destroying the past. Such an idea calls for new developments to take place and expresses its own zeitgeist in a way that reinforces the traditional areas. In general terms, all these ideas that are related to conservation and continuity are aspects of the effect of the temporal dimension of the built environment.

2.3.6.2 The management of change in public spaces

As indicated in the previous section, as a reaction to the negative implications of over-abrupt change in the physical environment caused by the large scale development of the 1940s, many urban design commentators such as Jacobs (1961), Lynch (1972), Alexander (1975), Lang (2005) and others argued that, if change is economically and politically inevitable, it should be incremental, small-scale, moderate, and controlled, and should preserve a maximum continuity with the past or at least mix new and old in an integrated way that will enable successive generations to derive a sense of continuity from their physical surroundings, instead of taken place as a sudden and massive transformation. It should be noted that, despite the emphasis in urban design literature on small-scale gradual change, in economically depressed areas the development of large-scale projects with a overall vision is urgently needed in order to achieve a development that has the potential to address the needs of urban planning and design, and to do so in a joined-up manner that meets the expectations of different stakeholders. Nevertheless, as argued by Carmona et al. (2003) in order to avoid the negative implication of such developments, they need to be designed and managed deliberately, by dividing them into a series of small projects over different stages so that people have the opportunity to adapt, approve and allow for subsequent incremental changes.

There is a broad lesson in all this that the elements that constitute public spaces are likely to evolve over time. Additionally, throughout history urban environments and the spaces in them have been shaped by the most powerful forces of the time. In European cities, for example, the emergence of an industrial society massively changed the fabric of urban environments. Today, it is the turn of service society to change the city and give it a new flavour. Madanipour (2006) argues that, in a globalized world, cities with a high concentration of people undergo rapid changes, always at a faster pace. This is a result of unprecedented levels of demographic, economic, political, socio-cultural and technological change. Since the significance of urban designers lies in the role they play in the overall transformation of cities, an important part of their task is to adjust the city to these structural changes by altering the urban fabric in new ways and creating projects that can respond to the needs and aspiration of emerging societies. In other words, for urban designers to contribute positively in place making, they need to understand the implications and impact of time and to make predictions about how the associated

economic and political power will shape new urban conditions and affect the quality of the urban environment and its public spaces.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the nature of urban public space as the main subject matter of urban design, briefly exploring its meanings and associated dilemmas. From the discussion, it is evident that the conceptualizations of space, urban space and public space are all subjected to the influence of competing opinions. This arises from their multi-dimensional nature and, in addition, the multiplicity of disciplines, professions and academic specializations involved in its study. Intellectually, these definitions attempt to classify urban space according to a particular conceptualization, each one evoked out of the different views of the world from which they have been derived. Although the existing body of literature has enhanced our understanding of the nature of urban space, there is an overlap and sometimes a contradiction as to how we may define public space. As discussed by Ali Madanipour (2003) and Jon Lang (2005), the problem is that the nature of many public spaces is ambiguous because, although the public has relative freedom to access them, they remain under private ownership. To address this ambiguity, therefore, we need to search for the meaning of space and glance at some of the conceptualizations surrounding it.

The chapter also emphasises that urban space has a multi-dimensional nature and that if urban designers want to make a positive contribution and a meaningful intervention in existing public spaces or seek to create new ones, then these dimensions need to be drawn together and considered as a whole. Drawing on the ideas advanced by Carmona et al. (2003), in discussing the definition and understanding of urban space, six dimensions were identified with respect to such space as the main focus of urban design: morphological, perceptual, social, visual, functional, and temporal. The morphological approach views public space as a physical object and focuses on how it is used and how it affects our perception. The perceptual dimension views public space as a unit of environmental experience that supports an urban structure and affects the behaviour of those who experience it. The social perspective views it as spatial manifestation of social institutions. As argued by Madanipour (1996: 33), it 'deals with the spatial arrangement and interrelationship of the characteristics of the people who build, use and value the urban

fabric'. The visual–aesthetic dimension, which is based on the longstanding tradition of 'picturesque', emphasizes the visual form of the urban fabric and views its urban spaces and their surrounding solids as works of art or as aesthetic objects that can be visually perceived and appreciated, rather than dealing with it as spatial aspect of the environment. In contrast, the functional dimension, which reinforces the notion of urban design as a design process, views the urban fabric and its spaces as the spatial arrangement of elements within a city system. In the context of this dimension, the organization of urban space can be viewed as a tool for spatial design, management and transformation rather than merely as a mode of dealing with the visual or technical aspects of the urban environment. The temporal dimension takes into consideration that both the physical space and the socio-cultural and political–economical forces that shape it are in a continuous process of dynamic change.

Overall, the literature in relation to how to organise public space in a way that satisfies its users reveals multiple opinions among writers and urban specialist; different writers from different perspectives maintain their own conception of public space and advance specific frameworks to address its issue. Although no generally accepted conceptual framework has been developed by researchers, the interaction between different dimensions of the built environment such as spatial, institutional, psychological, and socio-cultural factors and the impact they have on people's behaviour and perceptions has been hinted at (Van-Kamp, Leidelmeijera et al. 2003). Theoretically, then, as Perry Anderson (1998: cited in Goonewardena 2004) puts it, no other 'aesthetic or political practice has such immediate social impact' as does urban design. For urban designers to play a more influential role in enhancing the public realm within modern residential areas, a scrutiny of the objective spatial qualities and the socio-cultural experience combined with a critical interpretation of space-society relationships is urgently needed for understanding the 'dynamic multiplicity' of the nature of public spaces (Madanipour 2006). As will be explained in greater details in the next chapter, by bringing together the broad dimensions of public space, the findings will be useful for the establishment of an appropriate conceptual framework that will contribute to a deeper understanding of the relationship between the quality of urban design elements and the environmental experience of public space.

Chapter Three

Urban design evolution and the development of public space

Chapter 3

Urban design evolution and the conceptual framework

3.1 Introduction

Having explored the meaning of the term ‘public space’ and its different dimensions, let us now explore the finer details of urban design and the substantive challenges it presents alongside its significant contribution to urban renaissance. It would be useful for our conceptual framework if we could gain a deeper understanding of both the role of urban design as an important mechanism in urban regeneration and of the ongoing physical transformation of cities and their cumulative impact on the quality of urban environment. It is also important to understand the context in which urban designers operate. Awareness of the contextual forces by which their ideas are initiated and implemented is a prerequisite if lasting improvements in the quality of public spaces are to be achieved. The first section concerns the growing significance of urban design and provides a critical overview of the emergence of urban design and its widening popularity. The second section shows how public space as an integral part of the urban design process and urban governance has become a subject of interest, attempting to conceptualize the interaction of multiple actors: providers, regulators and users. The third section outlines the research framework, which is based on the adoption of a multi-dimensional perspective.

3.2 Substantive urban design challenges

Recent movements in urban design have been evolving for over a century - although the term ‘urban design’ is not used until the post-war period, during which time different views have been fashioned according to specific cultural orientations and ideals. Until the 1960s, urban design was mostly treated as an exercise in the beautification of public

spaces, showing limited significance attached to city design. As a reaction to the 20th Century reform movements (the Garden City, CIAM and the City Efficient schools, for example), urban design started to evolve as a critique of the built environment produced by these movements and during the latter half of the 20th Century in particular as a way to rectify existing cities and places in decline. This in turn induced urban design to emerge during the 1980s and 1990s as a separate technical specialty. Recently, with the growing scope and scale of urban development processes in cities, urban design has grown more prominent and its scope has broadened from a concern with the promotion of quality of neighbourhoods and use of the spaces between buildings as parts of the broader task of designing cities and nurturing urban development. Since that time, urban design has increasingly been viewed as an essential tool that not only improves the physical aspects of urban development but also reconciles competing ideals about urbanism and deals with contextual changes in the environmental, historic, aesthetic, and public realms (Talen 2005; Madanipour 2006; Carmona and Tiesdell 2007).

Historically, cities evolved and were designed in line with the vision of dominant religious and political powers. The whole city and its physical artefacts such as public spaces were created to enhance the dominant power and to accord with the prevailing sense of order. As modern societies emerged, cities and towns changed to represent the social, political and economic mutations caused by new technologies and ideals. The geometrical designs and utopian ideas of ancient cities were changed in order to respond to the demands of the public, demands that could no longer be addressed by existing views and practices. Thus, urban design and planning movements which were rooted in the utopian ideas of the Renaissance were changed to reveal the principles of each succeeding dominant power, taking us roughly from religious foundations to royal and aristocratic dominance during the feudal system to the modern phase of industrial capital, and finally to the notion of the metropolis and the synergies of multiple stakeholders (Carmona, Heath et al. 2003; Lang 2005; Madanipour 2010).

Ideas such as Baron Haussmann's concept for the transformation of Paris led to the creation of the monumental style of the City Beautiful Movement as an extension of the Beaux Arts tradition (Hall 1988; Broadbent 1990). This movement – which dated from 1890 to 1920 – was viewed as a means not only to enhance the position of political power

and affirm civic responsibility but also as a way to restore community ethics and aspirations. Its members strove to refashion the city, beautify the public environment, create extensive systems of green areas, and decorate streets and boulevards through the monumental use of sculpture and other elements such as fountains, obelisks and providing fixed reference points through which to integrate the street network. These ideas developed further as a modernist movement within urban design and planning to address urban degradation and social problems of the nineteenth century caused by the industrial revolution. As will be explained in the following sections, the application of these ideas has brought about substantial changes in the configuration of urban space and has also had consequences that have stimulated new ideas and movements in urban design. As we look at these movements more closely, we see that the relevance of urban design and its multidimensional quality have been enriched by the postmodernists writers whose work has been informed by an historical consciousness of the design of earlier (Wilson 1986; Banerjee and Loukaitou-Sideris 1992; Talen 2005; Madanipour 2007).

3.2.1 20th Century Approaches

Based on the ideas that developed in the nineteenth century to solve the extreme crowding of industrial cities and to improve the condition of the working classes, two major approaches to city planning and design emerged within the context of radical social and political reforms: the Garden City movement and the City Efficient movement. As a solution for the extreme chaos caused by industrialization, the Garden City movement campaigned for the development of small settlements. The City Efficient movement, in contrast and developing form ideas of Le Corbusier's, advocated the demolishing of the entire existing city and its replacement by a city of high towers in landscaped parkland.

The Garden City movement as an approach to city planning was founded in 1898 by Sir Ebenezer Howard in the United Kingdom (**Figure 3-1**). The movement was inspired by Howard's writings and concerned itself with addressing urban and social problems of cities and towns by combining the best aspects of both cities and towns and decentralising its various functions in order to ensure adequate access to open space. Spatially, the movement incorporated the principle of self-contained communities, creating towns with balanced residential, industrial and agricultural areas (Barnett, 1982). The movement,

which originally inspired the creation of more apartment units in the suburbs to accommodate the growing demand for residential areas in London, has also influenced city planning throughout the world (Ford 1999). Throughout the 1960s, in the USA and Australia, for example, most of the new suburban developments were designed under the banner of the Garden City ideal and still retain its features (Lang 2005: 49).

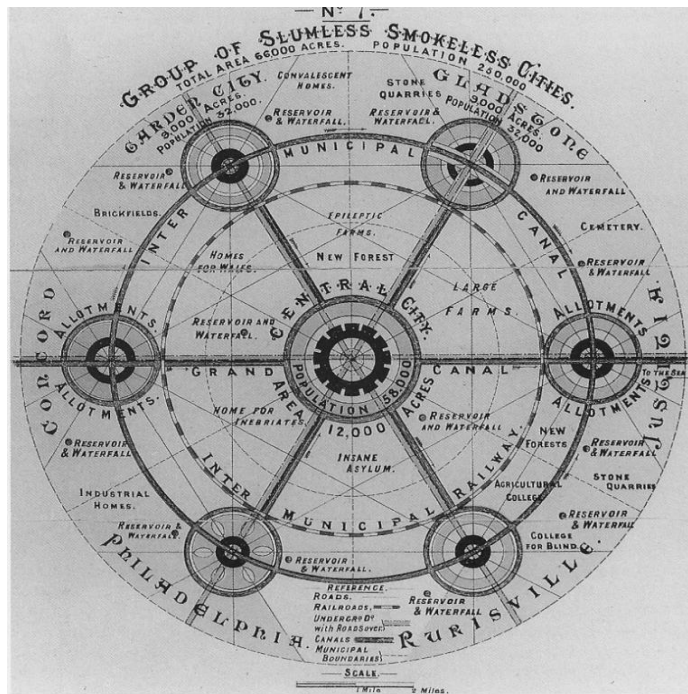


Fig 3-1: Garden cities of Tomorrow.
Source: Kostof, 1991.

In reaction to the City Beautiful movement, the City Efficient movement emerged in the form of modernist projects that imposed rational order on cities when they showed signs of suffering from intractable urban and social problems (Talen 2005). The new sentiment was based on the dictum 'let us have the city useful, the city practical, the city liveable, the city sensible, the city anything but the city beautiful' (Wilson 1989: 63). Its origins are the Bauhaus in Germany and the work of Le Corbusier who advocated the continuous empty space with free-standing objects as a modernist vision of city and society (Le Corbusier 1987, first published in 1924). Le Corbusier's ideas were further elaborated by a group of architects and town planners called CIAM (International Congress for Modern Architecture) who issued their manifesto in the Charter of Athens in 1933.

In contrast to the City Beautiful movement, which was based on local projects and the principle of beautification, the City Efficient movement was based on industrial mass

production techniques. The solution for the evil of the city was the concept of master planning as an absolute regulatory approach for urban development. Such an approach aimed to demolish the entire existing city and replace it by a city of high towers in landscaped parkland (Trancik 1986). The advocates of such an approach focused on transportation, the functional separation of activities and the production of urban areas that admitted only one use (Peponis 1989; Hall 1998).

Though developed in the 1920s & 30s it was the destruction following the Second World War (1939-45) that led the ideas from CIAM to be put into practice. Large housing schemes that served the utilitarian function of accommodating the movement of motor cars were widely developed in the Western world and beyond. In practical terms, these housing schemes were concerned with efficacy in terms of the quantity of housing units rather than the quality of their design. These projects emphasized the car at the expense of pedestrian movement, vast spaces at the expense of existing social locations, and abstract urban planning calculations rather than the actual needs and desires of local communities (Madanipour 2007). In New York City, for example, in 1939, the Housing Authority constructed 13 low-rental housing projects, spatially based on the concept of the 'super block' planning system. They also oriented buildings in a manner at odds with the surrounding city, which caused the fragmentation of urban spaces; such schemes became commonplace in the decades following 1945 (Laurence 2006).

These projects not only lacked public participation in the development and decision-making processes, but employed the heavy-handed use of eminent domain alongside racial segregation. This led to the demolition of existing neighbourhoods which displaced residents (Laurence 2006). These movements reached their greatest prominence in suburban developments and in the redevelopment of urban areas. Such developments emerged not only to supposedly 'improve' living conditions for the urban masses in both socialist and capitalist societies, but also served to reorganise entire cities and towns. Spatially, such modern residential developments were usually oriented towards creating monotonous and standardized images for modern physical structures. This in turn created lifeless residential areas and caused a depersonalization of urban spaces which, in its turn, discouraged social integration and caused the withdrawal of the population from the public realm (Carruthers 2002; Madanipour 2007).

As a reaction to modernism and its negative consequences, many thinkers, urban specialists, co-operative and other grassroots social movements expressed their discontent and criticized the products of modern architecture and city planning. Some writers departed from broader social and psychological approaches (e.g. Jacobs 1961) in their attacks on the modernist movements, particularly their use of separation and zoning, and condemned the fragmented urban spaces for the breakdown of society, resulting in the decline of the public realm, creating a high degree of social polarization, and displacement, while transforming the socio-spatial fabric in general (Relph 1976). As will be discussed in the following section, during the 1960s, the work of Jane Jacobs, Kevin Lynch, Gordon Cullen, and Christopher Alexander not only constituted the real body of urban design, but also influenced postmodern urban designer thought and many current initiatives in urban renaissance.

3.2.2 Post – modern urbanism

By the 1960s, new theories of urban design evolved as a reaction to modernism and for the sake of improving the physical and social landscape. These theories were developed by Jacobs (1961), Whyte (1958) and prominent urban designers such as Lynch (1960), Alexander (1964) and Cullen (1971), who suggested the idea of richly connected and accessible street environments with mixed functions and high densities of use. These writers influenced a later generation of authors such as Rapport (1982), Appleyard (1979), Barnett (1982), Bacon (1985), Lang (1987), Trancik (1986), Altman (1975), Krier (1987), Rossi (1988) and others. These post-modern urban designers promoted urban vitality and sought to enhance the public realm by creating a series of schemes for the improvement parts of the city based on the idea of mixed use developments, pedestrian movement and a degree of control over vehicular traffic..

The proponents of the modernist movement, held to a vision that represented a break with the past and called for the destruction of traditional artisanal and craft culture. Following a theoretical framework created by Christopher Alexander (1977), another group of postmodernist urban designers known as neo-classicists advocated a return to vitality and borrowed traditional urban design elements from various historic periods, including the use of sculptures, ornamentations, traditional streets and squares. The return to traditional

urban forms, which explicitly echoes the approaches initiated by Camillo Sitte (1889), was justified in terms of a revival of public life and culture (Peponis 1989). While the urban designers of this group (e.g. Rossi 1988) emphasized the principle of continuity between the present city and its predecessors, others (e.g. Lynch 1984; Attoe and Logan 1989) emphasised the necessity for new developments to express their own zeitgeist and advocated the idea of inserting new material that enhances the past rather than creating a total physical continuity of places (Peponis 1989; Carmona, Heath et al. 2003).

The postmodern emphasis on aesthetics is often explained as a reaction to the modernist neglect of aesthetic issues. However, this romantic reaction against modernism has been criticised because many urban design projects have given priority to aesthetic qualities rather than prevailing economic and social forces. It should also be noted that, although postmodernism has evoked a romantic return to cities of the past, it has not recommended the abandonment of technological innovation and an awareness of the spirit of the age. Instead, it calls for authenticity and the harmony of social relationships alongside a built environment within which new ideas and technologies are introduced (Hall 1995; Ellin 1996).

With the advent of several economic crises, the rise of consumer capitalism, neo-conservatism, and social incompetence the emphasis shifted to the problems of unemployment, public transport and the upgrading of housing (Dear and Scott 1981). Investments came to be concentrated on the creation of specially designed environments, particularly in the city centres, where new projects took the form of revitalization, redevelopment, gentrification, retirement homes, and the rehabilitation of old central areas. These latter emphasize public space enhancement. (i.e. street design, traffic calming etc.). In this respect Madanipour (1996: 192) maintains that:

‘In the 1970 and 1980s, the flow of capital, in the form of land and property development, returned to the city, creating entirely new environments superimposed on and juxtaposed to the older, degenerated areas. To attract new professional classes to the city, investment concentrated on the re-imaging of the urban environment with a new aesthetics’

After the 1980s, structural changes took place in developed economies, moving from mass production to flexible production to respond to global competition between cities

during the 1990s. This, in turn, led to the rise of post-modern urbanism as an expression of professional ways of thinking (Ellin 1996). In line with this, the popularity of urban design has increased and its scope has moved from the production of good and beautiful images in order to respond to the demands of mass culture and to deal with environmental, historic, public realm issues as both process and product.

3.2.3 New Urbanism

New Urbanism emerged as a branch of the postmodernist movement in urban design and has been influential in urban design thinking. During the early 1990s, the movement evolved in the USA as a reaction to urban sprawl and conventional suburban development. New sets of ideas about how to structure cities and create a beautiful image of a sustainable community have been established as design principles by advocates of the movement, paying more attention to physical design while recognizing other dimensions and broader, possibly intractable issues relating to the built environment, such as economic, social and political factors (El-Koury and Robbins 2004; Talen 2005). This trend took its inspiration from and is conceptually rooted in approaches to urban design that preceded it, such as the work of Ebenezer Howard (1898), Patrick Geddes (1915), Raymond Unwin (1919), Clarence Perry (1929), and Jane Jacobs (1961). These and other theorists raised many critical issues of modern urbanism such as the spread of placeless sprawl, the decline of the public realm, social diversity, the decay of inner cities, environmental deterioration, the decline of public transit systems and the loss of the historical legacy (Katz 1994; Duany, Plater-Zyberk et al. 2000; Grant 2005).

Beginning in 1993, the proponents of the movement such as Andrés Duany, Elizabeth Plater-zyberk, Peter Calthorpe, Peter Katz and others have developed the Charter for New Urbanism, (CNU), which was published in 1996 and which presents their universal principles for shaping urban and suburban developments and the implementation strategies they propose for these developments. The charter authors went on to form the Chicago-based Congress for New Urbanism, which became an international organization (Tiesdell 2002). This organization included urban designers and other environmental planning and design professionals together with sociologists and other stakeholders who were committed to the New Urbanist ideals. (Watson, Plattus et al. 2003). The movement

which has been seen as a U. S. phenomenon has had a notable impact in Canada and Australia and has gone on to influence European countries. In the UK, for example, the government accepted the need to increase population densities as sustainable strategy for urban development (Tiesdell 2002). The movement spread into yet further countries when the Congress gave awards to several international projects as a good example of its intentions (Robbins 2004; Grant 2005).

Proponents of New Urbanism argue that we need to change the present form of suburbs, which have been turned into quasi-rural areas which demand a single lifestyle based around car ownership and total dependence on motor transport. To achieve the changes it proposes, the movement advocates the restructure of development policies and practices in such a way that they will support principles for the creation of an attractive and meaningful urban landscape that will act as solutions for a number of urban and social issues. Among these principles are the use of a neighbourhood scale, the movement of companies for the development of small settlements, and the return to a mixed use policy allowing the creation of a more pedestrian-friendly environment. In addition, they want to encourage transit-oriented developments (Grant 2005; Al-Hagla 2009). This is not to say that the movement calls for the elimination of the car, but that it envisages the creation of an environment that simultaneously supports a human scale for urbanization and walkability, along with transit and the incorporation of contemporary realities, including existing auto-dependent societies (Watson, Plattus et al. 2003; Madanipour 2007).

At a regional scale, its advocates employing the idea of ‘smart growth policies’ to encourage compact development in order to avoid excessive impact from urban growth. In line with this, infill development within existing urban areas should be encouraged in order to create inclusive neighbourhoods, to conserve environmental resources, to revitalize economic investment, and to integrate the socio-spatial fabric. Moreover, cities and towns should be shaped by well defined and accessible public spaces and community facilities; local history, climate, ecology, and building practice should be integrated within the design of communities (NCPPR 2002; Frenkel 2004). Although the advocates of the movement admit that physical solutions by themselves will not address social and economic issues, they still insist that neither economic vitality nor community stability

nor environmental health can be sustained without a supportive physical urban design (El-Koury and Robbins 2004; Carmona, de-Magalhaes et al. 2008).

Although New Urbanism has had a wide degree of support and its ideas have become accepted in the USA it has also been subjected to criticism by some commentators who argue that the movement is merely the most recent example of physical determinism. This is because its adherents appear to believe their universal and timeless urban design principles can not only generate a quality living environment but can also create a context that supports the creation of good communities that are able to ignore complex urban realities (Grant 2005). According to Robbins (2004), the advocates of New Urbanism speak of community as if it can be produced by physical design rather than from the moral status of its residents. Similarly, Watson, Plattus et al. (2003) deplored the radical proposition of mixed use, saying that the creation of affordable housing would increase the mix of different income groups and ethnic groups in a way that many communities may find frightening. Moreover, they added that ‘it is a principle that is rarely realized in practice and, given the current political climate, is almost always compromised’. Continuing in this vein, Madanipour (2007) maintains that such a trend would jeopardize the quality of urban life by increasing densities.

In summary, the New Urbanism can be considered as a broad movement that attempted to provide a comprehensive coverage for urban issues. While its practices succeeded in some places, it generated perverse outcomes in others. Thus, as will be explained in greater detail in the following section, taking into account the changeability of economic and political realities, urban designers should be multidimensional and flexible in their approach to urban development in addition to being creative rather than simply proposing universal images and authoritative principles.

3.2.4 Globalized urban design

As indicated in the previous sections, although the application of authoritative urban design principles from both the modernist and postmodernist movements has been subjected to criticism, they nonetheless enriched the vocabulary of urban design and made discussion of it an integral part of any extended discussion of urban regeneration. With

the turn of the millennium, urban design as an art of place making has reached its peak in the most recent publications together with so many extraordinary world-wide practices. It has also gained considerable acceptance as a discipline and as a significant contributor to urban renaissance (Punter 2010). Its practices occupy an increasingly prominent role in urban development and environmental improvement and have become deeply intertwined with the plans and policies that address enormously problematic social and economical issues and which endeavour to make cities competitive in the era of a globalized economy.

With the current (post 2009) global economic recession, the credit crunch and spiralling public debts, many governments in western countries such as the UK have made cuts to public expenditure. This, in turn, is reflected in employment patterns, lifestyle, public values, the quality of urban development and the supply of public amenities such as public spaces. As pointed out by Punter (2010), in the immediate future urban design will come under severe pressure in making a balance between high-quality space that attracts business and ensure their commitment for creating more environmentally sustainable lifestyle. Overall, urban design has gained widespread popularity since the 1980s. The rise in its significance can be attributed to the role it plays as an effective tool that facilitates the shaping of the urban environment in new ways. It is now a widely held view that urban design not only not contributes to the enhancement of a city's appearance, but also deals with the spatial organization of the urban setting and can be considered a key agent of the process of urban development and environmental improvement (Lang 1996; Robbins 2004; Talen 2005; Madanipour 2007; Punter 2007; Carmona, de-Magalhaes et al. 2008).

3.3 Public space as a key urban design issue

We have indicated earlier that, in reaction to the decline of the public realm due to the fragmentation of the urban fabric, many writers and urban specialists have argued that the quality of public spaces and the interactions taking place in these spaces is very important for the wellbeing of citizens. Based on this argument, urban design emerged in western countries in the 1960s in response to people's demand for better quality urban and suburban development. It was, moreover, intended to meet the challenge of how to

structure urban space in order to meet the aspirations of urban societies within the boundaries of existing political and economic forces. Greater emphasis was placed on the promotion of mixed-use areas and the creation of pedestrian-friendly tracts which are essential features in the creation of appropriate urban public spaces (Madanipour 2006). As will be explained in the following sections, the application of these ideas has not only made discussion of public space a major factor in urban design thinking but has also made urban design an integral part of any extended discussion of the urbanism process and urban governance.

3.3.1 The changing nature of public space

Throughout history, changes in the physical environment have been associated with alterations in social structures which affect the lives of people and their attitude towards the public sphere. In the pre-industrial period, the built environment was compact and the size of the population of any city was relatively small and permanent. The cities of agrarian societies, for example, were relatively cohesive with well-integrated communities. The city was organised around centrally located squares and streets (Broadbent 1990). These urban spaces were not only places for assembly and, therefore, essential for every day communications, sociability and trade, they were also the major urban elements that provided each city with unique distinctive character and aesthetic experiences (Carr, Francis et al. 1992; Madanipour 2007). With the advent of industrialization, the nature of the city and its society changed. In Western cities, the turbulent times that followed the industrial revolution brought not only advanced information and communication technologies, but also changed the shape of old towns, in population size, in the density of residential areas, in the nature of the social environment, in citizens' experience of the public realm, and in all aspects of public life. All of these factors have tremendously enlarged cities, endowing them with large and heterogeneous populations, while they have broken down their socio-spatial fabric through a functional emphasis on industrialisation and modernism (Carmona, Heath et al. 2003).

In Western cities, during the decades following World War Two, an array of strategies were created to implement housing and transportation projects. Often megastructure projects these resulted in the fragmentation of the urban fabric and changed the

characteristics of the public realm. In consequence, cities have been built as ‘a collection of buildings set in public space or new communities designed on similar principles’ (Barnett 1986: 190). Spatially, the speed of cars and the need for zoning restrictions have created deep divisions in the urban landscape, to the point where the close relationship between open spaces and surrounding buildings was undermined. Streets and public spaces became utilitarian areas rather than facilitators for social interaction.

In their turn, these alterations transformed the nature of urban spaces and resulted in alienation from the public experience. Consequently, public spaces lost their historic role as media through which the public could mix and take part in outdoor activities and as places where social order could be consolidated (Jacobs 1961; Webber 1964; Hall 2002; Madanipour 2007). As argued by Madanipour (2010), ‘one of the key criticisms of the urban development process in modern cities has been the transition from place to space, through a loss of meaning and personal association’. With the decline of the economy in the 1970s, urban design developed as a separate field in the 80s, when it was developed in order to focus on the creation of inclusive urban spaces where the quality of life for greater numbers of citizens could be enhanced.

With the turn of the millennium there has been a dramatic increase in the scale of urban populations, coupled with a growth in the pace of globalization and a decline in manufacturing industries in western countries. Accordingly, the nature of public space has also changed as societies have made the transition from industry to service economy and globalization. Most recently Cities have placed more emphasis on the creation of high quality public spaces and places in order to make themselves competitive. Many improvement schemes were carried out in order to regenerate traditional public spaces and create new ones with a view to attracting new investment through tourism and private businesses. Consequently, retail development has stressed the need for attractive public spaces in order to cater for growing demands for cafes, restaurants and other places of general association, to help people cope with the new life style (Madanipour 2006).

In short, throughout history, urban conditions in cities have changed in accordance with demographic, political and economic shifts. These structural changes are usually reflected in the social and spatial organization of cities. Past experience of urbanization in Western

societies indicates that the changing nature of public spaces can be traced through the historical alterations that have occurred in the nature of cities, something which is associated with changing economic imperatives alongside social and political factors. The growing scale of development in cities inevitably led to an increase of public needs for urban public space and a high quality environment.

3.3.2 Urban public space governance in western countries

In most western countries until the 1980s, the management of public spaces, streets, squares, parks, playgrounds and other freely accessible areas was normally carried out by public sector authorities within the context of public goods and services (De-Magalhaes and Carmona 2009). The production of these spaces was viewed as essential for the well-being of communities and as a means to enhance civic privileges and duties (Carr, Francis et al. 1992). In technical terms, the assumption was that public sector agencies had both the authority and the capacity to formulate a policy and translate it into urban reality. Institutionally, states and local governments are expected to perform the following tasks: to provide administrative efficiency in order to ensure the provision of infrastructure and public amenities within a national policy framework; to promote economic activities; to develop human resources; to regulate urban development; and to allow the private sector to operate efficiently and safely (Davoudi 2009).

The middle of the 1980s saw the appearance of a mosaic of unbalanced urban development marked by a failure of spatial planning and management policies in contrast to decisions to address urban issues. Among these issues are the apparent fragmentation of the urban fabric, uncontrolled leapfrog developments at the fringes, insufficiently funded public services, a shortage of affordable housing, traffic congestion, and severe ecological problems. In the UK, for example, these urban issues prompted institutional reforms for local urban governance that aimed to replace the prevailing socio-spatial public goods distribution strategy by an economic competitiveness approach such as compulsory competitive tendering (CCT) for all local services; this latter approach was introduced in England in the 1980s (De-Magalhaes and Carmona 2009). Overall, general public dissatisfaction with the capacity of governments to respond to the needs of all social groups, coupled with neo-liberal economic thinking, has stimulated social and

environmental movements and thinking about appropriate urban management; this in turn has superseded technocratic and bureaucratised managerial forms by installing a competitive approach to urban governance. These challenges to traditional forms of urban government changed the geometry of power and shaped the various aspects of governance, spatial planning and urban management in the 1990s (Healey 1997; Rakodi 2003; Davoudi 2009; Punter 2010).

We can distinguish three major factors that have assisted in the emergence of governance as the favoured urban management system. These are the decentralization policies which implied a shift of power from national to local government; the democratic principles of government; and the increased importance of pressure from citizens and local groups, such as social movements, who demanded local services. These were combined with the growth of globalized environmental awareness which helped emphasize the involvement in policy making of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and individuals from local communities (UNCHS 1996). All these movements have strengthened the political culture in most western countries, and reinforced a close relationship between political leaders, governmental institutions, and major social and economic groups in order to force local authorities and other stakeholders from the private sector to operate in response to public opinion. The challenge to government has been presented by citizens and community groups who question the responsiveness of state intervention in the social and economic spheres; such pressure groups that consist of individuals who suffer from the deterioration of their living environment (Madanipour, Hull et al. 2001).

In institutional terms, the wave of decentralization policies which involved the privatization of public amenity provision alongside a contraction in public spending has been one of the most important factors changing how government should intervene as a provider and regulator on behalf of other actors in urban development. This has led to the dismantling of the influence of city authorities and has opened up state monopoly to competition as many aspects of regulatory responsibility held by the state were transferred to other stakeholders. Accordingly, the responsibility of providing public amenities such as public spaces has shifted to the private sector, and privatization has become a popular trend covering a number of government initiatives designed to promote out-contracting of

public services (Hall 1998; Madanipour, Hull et al. 2001; Healey 2002; MacKenzie and Lucio 2005; Carmona, de-Magalhaes et al. 2008).

In spatial planning terms, the privatization of public sector activities is evident in the major shift that has taken place in the political economy, and has played a significant role in the spatial configuration of the public realm. As Kirby has pointed out (2008: 74), the restructuring of 'the urban landscape has been facilitated by the interlocking components of the real estate, construction and design sectors, and reflects the influence of the latter at the expense of municipal oversight'. Similarly, Banerjee and Loukaitou-Sideris (1992) maintain that the increased role of the private sector in city governance led to a situation where the pattern of public open spaces in most major North American cities became a product of public-private negotiation and agreement. The ideology of privatization not only minimised the role of the state, but also manifested itself in the commodification and homogenisation of space, challenging individual liberties and other civil society principles such as efficiency, liberty and equity (Kayden 2000). It is important to point out that the phenomenon of privatization can be viewed as disruptive of the traditional process of public amenities provision, as the public sector lost its monopoly on the provision of these amenities (Mitchell 2003; Carmona, de-Magalhaes et al. 2008).

The supply of public spaces through a partnership between the public and private sectors raises the question of whether the different management and design schemes developed through such a partnership have affected consumption patterns and the meanings assigned to them (Low and Lawrence 2003). As strongly asserted within the literature (Low 2000; Kirby 2008) the result of these changes is that what were once apparently accessible open spaces have turned into controlled spaces. This in turn has led to a diminution in the ability of the users of these spaces to gather freely and socialize with others. Additionally, the privatization of public goods has also encouraged contentious public hearings and anti-social attitudes on the part of some members of the public who have questioned the highly controlled level of public spaces management and the spread of private management strategies. Such individuals also believe that service delivery is a means of enhancing civic responsibility and that it is, therefore, unrealistic to restrict potential users from free access to public places (Mitchell 1995; Banerjee 2001; Kohn 2004).

Past experience of the urbanization of western countries also indicates that the massive increase in the number of people living in urban areas was among the major challenges posed to the authorities in general and the spatial planning system in particular. This situation forced governments to resolve conflicts among competing agencies and interests. In policy making, decisions about which urban development needs to be supported or which amenity has to be supplied are often reflected in economic and spatial planning. Trade-offs also have to be made between the best timing, the ideal location, and the most realistic possibilities of initiating this development or that. This means that urban decisions cannot be approved without considering the prevailing political, social, and economic circumstances. This, in turn, has forced local authorities to cope with their new responsibilities and to meet the challenge of working with a range of actors and institutions, taking into account the full range of public opinion. As a consequence of the greater involvement of a wider range of local groups in the governance process, spatial planners and managers (land use planning and urban development management) came under pressure to provide a more sustainable urban environment by considering a wide range of people as legitimate participants in the planning process (Harpham and Boateng 1997; UN-Habitat 2001b; UN-Habitat 2006).

These developments, in turn, brought forward the need for adjustments to be made to spatial planning and the delivery of public amenities, in order to fit them into the new political, social and economic restructuring process. In the UK, for example, the provision and management of public spaces fitted the general pattern followed by other public amenities in which forms of collaboration between different agencies and actors emerged and became essential (Punter 2010). As pointed out by De-Magalhaes and Carmona (2009), the recent trends in the management of public space are part of a process whereby the formal structure of government has been replaced by governance, which in turn has led to the multiplication of organizations involved in public space planning and management. Simultaneously, demographic and social changes have put new, conflicting demands on public amenities such as public space, with corresponding pressure on public space management (Mitchell 2003). Accordingly, the role of urban planners and designers in making cities and the environments within them was now not only to regulate urban development from a functional and technical point of view, but also to think of innovative ways to improve the living environment through a governance process in which

engagement with a wider group of stakeholders is necessary (Madanipour, Hull et al. 2001; 2002).

In the last two to three decades, under the influence of globalisation and privatisation the significance of public space has been increasingly recognised and supported by local authorities. In Britain, for example, the Labour governments has also increasingly supported the idea of creating well-designed and well-maintained public spaces both in the city centre and within residential areas by initiating new policy documents and launching new public space schemes. Recently, there has been much interest in the promotion of public spaces, through a refinement of urban design policy and the inception of a set of development schemes in the centre of major cities in the UK, including Manchester, Glasgow and Newcastle (**Figure 3-2, 3-3**).



Figure 3-2: Manchester, new urban design schemes for the enhancement of the public realm in the central area.



Figure 3-3: Newcastle upon Tyne, recent improvement scheme for Eldon square in the central area.

These schemes have led to considerable progress in the enhancement of the public realm and the creation of new images, while the new public spaces continue to raise questions of accessibility, security and suitability for purpose. Moreover, it is important to note that such interest in improving the quality of the public realm has mainly been concentrated on city centres, whereas open spaces within suburban residential areas remain useless and unattractive (Madanipour 2006; Punter 2010). This can be attributed to the physical arrangement of buildings and urban settings, which continues to emphasize the private spaces of individual houses and outdoor areas while failing to support social interaction.

This can also be attributed to the increasing pressure exerted on city authorities to provide public spaces that require little financing in terms of maintenance, which means a reduction in the supply of public amenities. What urban planners offer children and adults in today's residential areas are tracts of widely-dispersed fenced land or left-over spaces. The problem, therefore, can be traced to difficulties in funding large-scale and high quality investment in public spaces within these areas. It can be also linked to a misunderstanding of the concept of urban space by a majority of city authorities. Such authorities may be in charge of public space provision, but they seldom understand the range of behaviours among those for whom they are committed to provide (Loukaitou-Sideris and Sideris 2010).

In order to address these conflicts and deliver better managed and more pleasingly designed public spaces, the role of urban planners and designers is to integrate different spatial concerns with a diversity of activities, interests and opinions in urban policy. Madanipour et al. (2001) have argued that such integration can be achieved through a technical analysis of the complex understanding of what makes up public space. Additionally, as pointed out by Punter (2010) empowering local governments and encouraging stakeholder participation in decisions which may affect local communities is a necessary foundation for the improvement of decision outcomes, providing lasting urban renaissances and enhancing urban governance and the public realm.

To sum up, past experience of the urbanization process in Western society indicates that the changing nature of public space governance is not a mere outcome of the decentralization of urban functions and the fragmentation of public spaces within the modern urban context. Clearly, it is also the product of the structural changes that western societies have experienced over the last three decades, whereby the delivery of public amenities such as public space provision has been under pressure from the dominance of market-based theories, the influence of globalisation, neo-liberalism, and privatization. Consequently, people have been discouraged from playing an active part in public life. Public life has ceased to be public, and has become more insular, inward looking and home based; and individuals have been turned into passive participants.

The phenomena of urban growth, the fragmentation of city layouts and the decline of the public realm in Saudi cities have all been affected by various factors which correspond to observations encountered in the academic and planning literature about cities in western countries. As pointed out by Madanipour (2010), there are some general themes in the urban global process that affect the way public spaces are used, appreciated and contested by different actors everywhere. Arguably, these issues, which impede the provision of public open spaces in Western countries, are crucial for our understanding of the problems that exist for public space provision in Saudi cities.

3.4 The Conceptual Framework

As indicated earlier (chapter one) the purpose of this research is to establish a holistic concept that may help assess the appropriateness of the contemporary stock of public spaces within modern residential areas in Jeddah to their users and context. In doing so, we need to analyse the attributes of these spaces using a multi-dimensional model, investigating how these spaces are produced, constructed, renovated, and maintained from spatial, institutional, psychological, and social dimensions. This also requires us to examine the perspectives of different stakeholders involved in the design and development process rather than focus our analysis on a single viewpoint (Carmona, Heath et al. 2003; Madanipour 2006). To establish the conceptual framework of the research and broaden our understanding of multidimensionality and the complexity of issues relating to public space provision, it is important to provide a brief review of the contemporary debate regarding the decline of the public realm.

3.4.1 The quality of the public realm

Recent urban design literature presents a bewildering range of opinions regarding the issue of the public realm. The current debate about changes in the role of public spaces and the consequences they have led to a shared sense of dissatisfaction about the state of modern urban public spaces, a dissatisfaction that is particularly concerned with the quality of spaces within suburban residential environments. In explaining the reasons that lie behind this dissatisfaction, some researchers (e.g. Lynch 1960; Jacobs 1961; Alexander 1966; Lefebvre 1974; Hall 2002) have linked the problem to macro-spatial planning

practices and methods of regulating larger-scale urban developments; these failed to provide desirable social environments. Others (e.g. Whyte 1958; Cullen 1971; Newman 1972; Krier 1979; Trancik 1986; Gehl 1987) have highlighted the deficiencies in micro-spatial planning, design, and architectural detail, and have explained how these morphological attributes affect the quality of public life. Yet others (e.g. Banerjee and Loukaitou-Sideris 1992; Madanipour 2006; Punter 2007; Carmona, de-Magalhaes et al. 2008) have indicated that the problem of public spaces is not only related to the way in which the urban environment is planned or designed. The absence of appropriate public space management, must, they argue, be considered as a key reason for an experience of decline within these areas.

Regarding the impact made by macro-spatial planning and the increasing scale of development, Kevin Lynch (1981: 401) (who strongly criticized the functionalist approach to city planning) has argued that dividing the city into a series of residential areas and creating a large segregation of activities by sharp boundaries is ‘futile’ and does not enhance accessibility nor support social integration. Likewise, Madanipour (2003: 148) points out that imposing specialized zones on cities with highly regimented streets and separating urban areas into functional cells with a single use – as an attempt to control the overall shape of urban growth – ‘led to an artificial fragmentation of cities which has been confronted by a generation of protest’.

With regard to the issues concerning fragmentation of the built environment and how these have affected the quality of the social realm within modern cities, Jacobs (1961) points out that these issues have increased the heterogeneity of modern residential areas, which has in turn encouraged uncivil behaviour and fear of crime. Newman (1972: 2), argues that the fragmentation of the physical environment and the heterogeneity found in modern residential areas created a monotonous residential environment; he goes on to say that these indistinct environments have also ‘crippled our ability to agree on the action required to maintain the social framework necessary to our continued survival’. Banerjee and Loukaitou-Sideris (1992) and Dear and Wolch (1989) likewise point out that the increased density and heterogeneity of the modern city have created an overload of inputs in the form of fragmented encounters, experiences and information. Similarly, increased mobility has enabled people to move away from the social problems of their communities.

Subsequently, individuals withdraw from public life, retreat inside the private realm of the household, and become fearful of others.

From the socio-cultural, psychological, and institutional points of view, some writers (e.g. Habermas 1962; Lefebvre 1971; Relph 1976; Canter 1977; Castells 1977; Sennett 1977) have argued that the decline of the public realm was not only affected by the imposition of modern city planning, but was also influenced by non-spatial forces such as modes of human experience, changes in the political economy, social ecology, lifestyle, fear of exposure to strangers, and the complexity of urban life in general. Starting from an environmental perception viewpoint – which emphasizes the importance of people's experience in establishing a sense of identity with place, something achieved through dependence and attachment – Edward Relph (1976: 106) points out that the quality of a place and its spatial attributes cannot be captured only by their objective reality, such as their form and the activities that take place inside it, but also and more importantly through the 'intentional interpretation' of those who perceived and experienced it. According to Relph, contemporary public spaces have lost their significance because the people who experience them do not feel at all deeply that they are functionally and emotionally attached to them. Regarding the impact of cultural values on the quality of the contemporary public realm, Richard Sennett (1990 cited in Barnett 2003) believes that the decline of communities cannot be solved through design. He argues that cultural differences among various groups and the fear individuals have of engaging with others have made it hard to achieve a sense of community, and that this in turn has discouraged sociability.

Basing themselves on a political economy perspective, based on historical materialism and a Marxist reading of the city (dialectical relationships between space and society) a constellation of writers (e.g. Habermas 1962; Lefebvre 1974; Castells 1977; Hervey 1985; Knox 1987; Dear 1989; Hall 1998) view urban space as a mediator of ideological hegemony and cultural identity. Put differently, this symbolizes either the power exerted by different human agents (e.g. the territorial expansion of capitalism) or organizations (e.g. collective consumption and social movements). In its turn, this power manifests itself in the framework of daily life and imposed spatial forms that have changed social relations. As pointed out by Goonewardena (2004: 166) and others, the commodification

and homogenization of some public spaces through over-management by private investors has reduced their significance as facilitators of sociability.

From an institutional point of view, Carmona et al (2008) suggest that, while planning and design standards played a major role in making the public environment in modern cities a public space issue, they were not the sole contributors to the problem. The management of public space constantly defines the condition of these areas. Carole Rakodi (2001) argues that visible issues such as the deterioration of the urban environment can be directly connected to political imperatives rather than being identified as outcomes of the failure of urban spatial planning or urban management approaches. She also adds that, without legitimacy, the realization of political actions and priorities cannot be sustained. Aydin-Wheater (2002) argues that the lack of appropriate open spaces is not only a function of the design process, but also a component of urban development itself. Thus, while economies and cities have grown, the public realm has come to be neglected.

To sum up, the gaps between different views indicate that contemporary urban environments encapsulate modern phenomena which have caused a dramatic rise in spatial-social fragmentation and polarization. People's active participation in public spaces has been reduced as a result of their fear of others and their transformation into passive participants. As indicated in chapter two, though no generally accepted conceptual framework has been developed by researchers, the interaction between different dimensions of the built environment such as spatial, institutional, psychological, and socio-cultural factors and the impact they have on people's behaviour and perceptions has been considered the overarching focus (Van-Kamp, Leidelmeijera et al. 2003). Thus, for urban designers to play a more influential role in enhancing the public realm within modern residential areas, a scrutiny of objective spatial qualities and the socio-cultural experience combined with a critical interpretation of space-society relationships is urgently needed to help us understand the 'dynamic multiplicity' of the nature of public spaces (Madanipour, Hull et al. 2001).

3.4.2 The Multi-Dimensional Urban Design Approach

There is a rich and extensive literature covering research that explores residents' appraisal of both specific and general aspects of the environment and the quality of life (Festinger, Schachters et al. 1950; Whyte 1980; Coleman 1985; Marcus and Sarkissian 1986; Gehl 1987; Lang 1987; Smith, Nelischer et al. 1997; Varady and Carrozza 2000; Pasaogullari and Dortali 2004; Williams 2005; Kearney 2006; Lichtenberg, Tra et al. 2007; Hamilton-Baillie 2008; Rogers and Sukolratanametee 2009; Mohit, Ibrahim et al. 2010). This appraisal typically takes the form of perceived environmental quality indicators that can be extensively used in the fields of urban planning and design, and in environmental, social, and psychological studies (Craik and Zube 1976; Carp and Carp 1984). However, the context in which the concept environmental 'quality' is used in research and policy-making is seldom consistent. It is not possible to give an exhaustive review of all approaches within this research. Instead, the present study aims to offer a broad insight into a diverse range of approaches and concepts, as explained in earlier section. Generally speaking, a broad variety of models or conceptualizations is used as a guideline for the macro- and micro-urban design and management processes in urban development (Van-Kamp, Leidelmeijera et al. 2003).

Concepts such as environmental quality, community well-being, the public realm, and urban design enjoy great public popularity and are central themes in research programmes, policy making, and urban development. The general key issues (conceptual and methodological) have been used to compare core concepts, namely the overlap between quality of place and the quality of individual life. They all refer to different aspects of the man/environment relationship (Bonaiuto, Bonnes et al. 2004). Environment is hereby broadly defined as physical, functional, social, cultural, psychological, institutional, and economic. Some concepts, however, are primarily related to the environment and others to the individual. While quality of place is linked to the environment, from a socio-cultural and psychological point of view, quality of life is primarily related to the individual and the community. In other words, there are issues of community and personal psychology that have to be addressed. The central theme in these different approaches is the interaction between different dimensions of the built environment (Carmona, Heath et al. 2003; Van-Kamp, Leidelmeijera et al. 2003).

As stated in chapter two, in environmental psychology studies, several scholars, including Relph (1976: 45), have argued (based on the theory of place) that physical setting, activities, and meanings constitute the three basic elements of the quality of a place. Drawing on Relph's ideas, Canter (1977) stated that the quality of a place is a function of activities, physical attributes and conceptions. He also defines inhabitants' residential satisfaction as the experience of pleasure or gratification derived from living in a specific place. From this conceptual standpoint, environmental quality includes three main components of the psychological construct of attitude. These are, namely, cognition, attraction and behaviour. Previous studies (e.g. Rosenberg and Hovland 1960; Carmona, Heath et al. 2003) have confirmed the plausibility of distinguishing between these three aspects of environmental perception, and has also highlighted how they may interconnect. According to an earlier study by Punter (1991), environmental quality can be determined by activity, form, and image. The multi-dimensional nature of people's perceptions can be predicted, however, by combining these three constructs within explicative conceptual frameworks, and by considering all possible relationships between different sets of predictors and criteria.

As also indicated above, a review of recent relevant literature revealed that no generally accepted conceptual framework in relation to community well-being has thus far been developed, nor has any coherent system been devised to measure with precision the different dimensions of environmental quality. Moreover, since there is an urgent need for reliable tools with which to evaluate these dimensions – something stressed by a variety of authors – we argue that, building on the work of Madanipour (2006), a framework of spatial, institutional and socio-cultural characteristics is important in order to determine the quality of an urban setting. According to this framework, understanding the interdependent influences of these three distinct constructs of the man-environment relationship could result in a better prediction of the appropriateness of the residential environment to its users and should ultimately affect their social and psychological well-being. Moreover, a greater understanding of the physical and non-physical properties of public space would enable the urban designer to play a more influential role in the development of successful urban settings. Based on this model, the formulation of urban design strategies should be built upon the establishment of a link between the spatial,

socio-cultural, and institutional dimensions of the built environment. This, in turn, will involve an analysis of notions pertaining to civic life, such as ‘community’ and ‘public realm,’ as well as the concept of ‘urban design’ itself. These three components together form a multi-dimensional model for all aspects of coherent urban design, as shown in **Figure 3-4**.

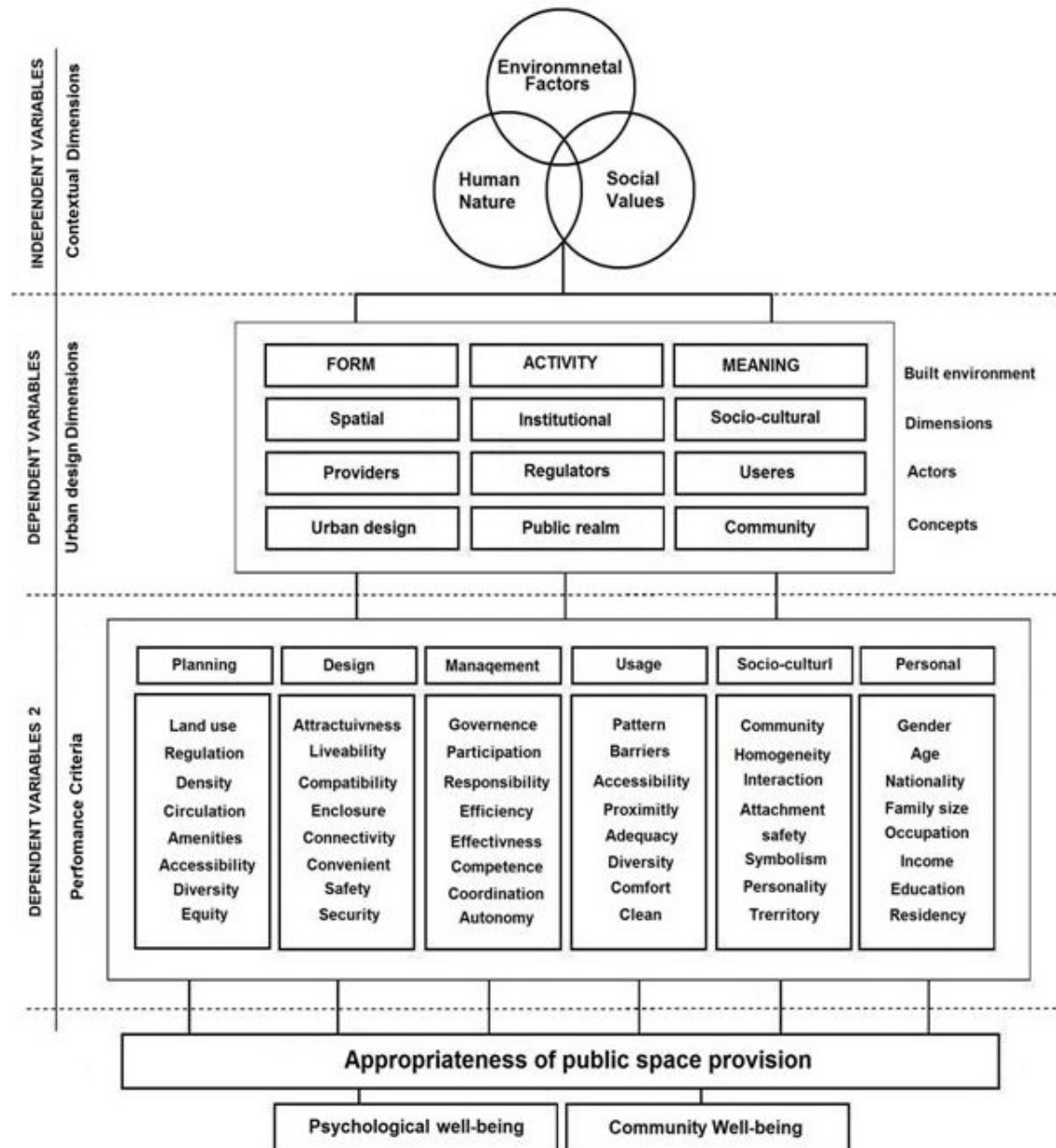


Figure 3-4: Research conceptual framework

These concepts find their origin in research carried out in social and psychological theory and in professional publications comprised of community studies, quality of life theories, human behaviour research studies, and physical environmental studies. They are also derived from recent public policy implementation, urban development management publications and administrative procedures for urban growth management in general and for the protection of public space in particular (World-Bank 2000; Healey 2002; Rakodi 2003; Dekker and Kempen 2004; McGill 2007; Carmona, de-Magalhaes et al. 2008; UN-Habitat 2008; Madanipour 2010; Punter 2010).

The urban design criteria are derived from current leading urban design guidelines and books authored by professionals in the various design disciplines (Madanipour 1996; Carmona, Heath et al. 2003; Lang 2005; Carr 2006; Carmona and Tiesdell 2007; Madanipour 2007; Punter 2007). In the best case, these notions can function as a point of departure for theory building and thus have heuristic value (Kahana, Lovegreen et al. 2003). It should be noted that the literature referred to in this thesis draws largely on Anglo-American sources. There are reasons for this. Firstly, the planning regimes of Saudi Arabian cities in the 1960s have drawn heavily on these sources for inspiration, and further relevant international publications have themselves drawn on these texts, so it was decided to refer to the source material rather than secondary interpretations.

The appropriateness of public spaces is here defined as anything that serves to elevate and distinguish these spaces in the minds of their providers, regulators and users (Madanipour 2006). Defining the appropriateness of different public spaces allows us to analyze the different levels at work. From this point of view, the design of public space may provide a sense of ease and comfort and encourage familiarity and camaraderie among residents (Jackson 2003; Walton, Dravitzki et al. 2007). Thus, socially and psychologically, it can encourage social cohesion, emotional experience and a sense of attachment for deracinated, alienated, and heterogeneous individuals, further creating a symbolic sense of participation and communal identity (Sircus 2001; Carmona, Heath et al. 2003).

Institutionally, this social contact should lead to smooth community relations, which in turn facilitate the control and management of spaces by appropriate local bodies (Lawrence 1996; Smith, Nelischer et al. 1997: 230; Madanipour 2003). The extent of the

‘appropriateness’ of the public spaces within the modern residential areas in Jeddah city can therefore be measured against these concepts or criteria. With regard to the urban design concept, this research proposes that determining whether a public space is ‘appropriate’ depends on how far urban design interventions (local area planning and management) help create useful, desirable and meaningful spaces, on how far urban space is responsive to its potential users and compatible to its context; and on how far it has been organised to be a setting for social interaction and a meeting ground for a wide range of people (Newman 1972; Whyte 1980; Carr, Francis et al. 1992; Carmona, Heath et al. 2003).

Let us examine the criteria that go to define the meaning of ‘community’. Community is a very flexible term, which may be used for an ethnic group within a geographic context. But it is also used for a settlement or a part thereof. For the purpose of this research, it is used to denote a self-contained mainly residential urban settlement which is part of a larger urban setting or part of the administrative boundary of different branches of the Jeddah municipality. We shall argue that the appropriateness of public space in this regard is related to the extent to which urban design intervention will help to provoke a sense of community, to foster awareness of communal responsibility, to reinforce cultural norms, to serve social objectives and to bring about energized community participation in the construction and improvement of the built environment. This does not mean that urban designers are required to act solely in accordance with what the community wants, but to acknowledge communal hopes and views and to take them for their inspiration, while using their knowledge and experience as professionals in order to transform them into achievable solutions. In other words, this study argues that the appropriateness of urban space depends on how far the local community and the urban designers can work together to create an urban setting which will be designed, constructed, managed, and, above all, used by those for whom it has been provided (Banerjee and Loukaitou-Sideris 1992; UNCHS 1997; Akkar 2003; Arefi and Meyers 2003; Madanipour 2003).

Finally, we shall show how a public space may be in tune with the criterion of ‘the public realm’ only insofar as the urban institution, decisions and development management programmes can help create an attractive and peaceful public environment, and to the

extent that a public space sharpens civic awareness, maintains public culture, reminds people of their responsibilities and restores a community ethic. Therefore, the appropriateness of public space provision depends on how far local decision makers succeed in introducing regulatory policy that enhances human experience in the public realm. In addition, how far the public arena is ‘appropriate’ depends on how far it is directed towards the benefit of the community; how far it is accessible and welcoming to everyone, and how far it responds to different interests and behaviours rather than being single-purpose (Appleyard 1979; Arefi and Meyers 2003; Carmona, Heath et al. 2003). It should be noted that concepts such as urban design, community and public realm do overlap, and are often used as synonyms – but every so often are contrasted with one another. The objective is to gain insights into which concepts are needed to evaluate urban environmental quality and to describe human well-being within a conceptual model (Van-Kamp, Leidelmeijera et al. 2003).

Furthermore, according to the Madanipour model, a scrutiny of the objective spatial qualities and the socio-cultural experience and a critical interpretation of the space-society relationship are urgently needed to understand the ‘dynamic multiplicity’ of the nature of public space from the perspective of providers, regulators and users (Madanipour, Hull et al. 2001; Madanipour 2006). A public space within an urban setting can be produced, regulated, and used by different actors. The regulators may be the public sector, such as government bodies and planning agencies who seek to regulate urban development and use of land through the planning system. The developers comprise a wide range of agencies from the private and public sectors as well as non profit organizations. All developers, such as landowners and their professionals, are motivated by the opportunity to appropriate the development value by meeting an unsatisfied demand. The users or occupiers are those who rent or buy space and who consume the products of the development process, such as residents and the general public. They are primarily interested in its amenity (Carmona, Heath et al. 2003: 219, and Madanipour 2006).

Such a space can be erected and regulated by the public sector and maintained by private developers, then used by the public. Another open space can be constructed and maintained by a private developer, but utilized by a specific group of individuals. Other spaces can be generated by the local community to be utilized and maintained by its

members as in the traditional communities. In these different cases, the form, usage pattern, and meaning of public spaces can be affected by the intention of different actors who are involved in the development process. For this space to be productive, it has to be produced and maintained in a way that satisfies its users and context.

To understand the ‘dynamic multiplicity’ of these spaces we need to identify the key actors, their motivations, interests, actions, relationships relative to each other, and the nature of their involvement in the development process (Madanipour 2006). While different actors perform different roles, achieving high quality public space may not be a goal shared by all key figures in the development process. The quality may mean different things to different actors. This means that the principles of responsibility and compatibility and the meaning of quality have a unique impact on the structure of public spaces in the city. Thus, successful urban designers are those who can interpret the meaning of quality from the perspective of the principal players in whichever development project may be undertaken (Carmona, Heath et al. 2003: 219, Madanipour 2006).

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the historical evolution of urban design in Western countries and the current debate about the issue of public spaces with the aim to establish the basis for the development of the conceptual framework for the provision of public spaces within the selected case study. A review of the history of Western urbanization indicates that the wider logic of the construction of Western cities lies in the idea that it is human agents and social values that decide how space should be structured. This can be clearly observed in the organization of the industrial city which followed the rise of modern capitalism, which has become the dominant form of economic relations.

After 1945, during the post-war reconstruction period, considerable changes were achieved in many cities, leading to their transformation into modern urban units. Significant movement in urban design and planning strove to shake these new cities loose from the industrial cities of the recent past. These movements, based on different utopian ideals of order and created around the ideology of the pursuit of modernism, all evolved

as Enlightenment projects. The consensus was that technological innovation could change the way of life for the better. Moreover, spatial planning as a tool for reshaping urban development is considered capable of organizing the city and the societies it contains. The City Beautiful Movement, for example, based its ideas on the notion of symbols and the impressions made by surface architecture as a representation of the artistic urge and the need for civic unity. The Garden City Movement, for another example, sought to ground the notion of liberty as a foundation for their decentralization policy.

In contrast, the City Efficient Movement based its ideas on an ideology of progress and on the notion of the densification and multiplication of city functions. As a reaction to the immense damage caused by the application of these movements, such as the creation of fragmented and lifeless urban and suburban developments, urban design emerged in the 1960s as a new way of looking at urban development. It was built around the belief that creating physically organised urban spaces of merit can enhance the quality of the public realm within the context of a spatially and socially fragmented society (Crul 2009).

During this period, urban design ideology tended to place more emphasis on the visual-aesthetic dimension of the built environment while neglecting social and political realities. This has, in turn, prompted the emergence of a post-modernist movement in urban design as an integral part of thinking about urbanism, with an emphasis on the need for a systematic analysis of socio-cultural and institutional factors. Its adherents claimed that urban design (understood as a process of place making) should respond to the aspirations of time, and should be contingent upon different worldviews while acknowledging previous and contemporary urban development practices. According to this view, the scope of urban design was transformed, moving from its traditional focus on physical order and aesthetic issues to a framework that comprises opposing ideals and involves a wide-range of stakeholders in urban development and place making. With the turn of millennium, urban design, as expressed in modern publications and in world-wide practices, has gained considerable acceptance as a discipline that deals with spatial organization. It is also viewed as an activity possessed of added value, which can make a significant contribution to urban renaissance, while making cities competitive by delivering high-quality and stylish set-piece office and retail developments in an era of the globalized economy (Punter 2010).

In brief, the idea of ordering the city has been part of urban design discussion for a long time. This discussion peaked during and somewhat after the *fin de siècle* period leading into the early twentieth century. From our discussion, we can also infer that there is no single vision or approach capable of tackling our intractable and dynamic urban and social issues. Thus, our understanding of the extent to which urban design can generate desirable development will be expanded later. In line with this, as typified by Madanipour (Madanipour 2007: 146) ‘the vision of the shape of the good city needs to be constantly under development, rather than being finalized’.

In this chapter, we have also discussed the nature of urban public space as the main subject matter of urban design, while briefly exploring some of the dilemmas associated with it. It is evident that recent urban design literature presents a wide range of issues and opinions in an attempt to explain the causes of public realm decline and the lack of a sense community in modern residential environments. Different thinkers and urban specialists from a variety of perspectives maintain their own conceptions of these issues and advance specific frameworks to address them. Although no generally accepted conceptual framework has been developed by researchers, their major concerns have been the interaction between different dimensions of the built environment (such as spatial, institutional, psychological, and socio-cultural factors) and the impact they have on the quality of the urban environment and on people’s attitudes to it. We think it evident that different notions in the design, planning, development and management of public space have a direct impact on their quality, accessibility and identity. This in turn allows us to argue that for urban designers to play a more influential role in enhancing the public realm within modern residential areas, a scrutiny of the objective spatial qualities and the socio-cultural experience combined with a critical interpretation of space-society relationships is imperative and prerequisite.

We have built the conceptual framework of this research by drawing on ideas advanced by Madanipour (2006) in his discussion of the multi-dimensionality of urban design and its actors alongside the changing nature of urban spaces. Madanipour thought that, if urban designers were to make a positive contribution to the promotion of existing public spaces or the development of successful new ones, they needed to integrate consciously

interrelated urban design dimensions and thinking in a holistic manner. More to the point, in order to deliver more satisfactory amenities and contribute to the enhancement of the public realm, we need to establish a holistic conceptual framework which integrates theoretical and operational perspectives. This integration can be achieved by using a multi-dimensional urban design model, investigating how these spaces are produced, constructed, renovated, maintained and consumed from spatial, institutional, and socio-cultural dimensions.

Chapter 4

Research methodology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter deals primarily with the fieldwork undertaken in Jeddah between December 2006 and January 2007 by the present researcher, in order to substantiate and expand upon the nature, extent, and causes of contemporary problems with public spaces. We have organized the chapter into six sections. Section one discusses the empirical research methodology and the rationale for using a mixed method approach. This section also discusses why Jeddah city was chosen as a geographical setting for the study and the rationale behind the selection of case studies, which have been designed to produce robust and compelling research. The second section highlights the reasons behind the decisions to apply in-depth interviews and face-to-face questionnaires alongside other tools that were utilised in the fieldwork as data collection methods. The third section discusses the different sampling methods utilised for the development of the investigation, and how these proved to be useful in collecting data. The fourth section illustrates the different periods of fieldwork carried out during the investigation. Moreover it gives an idea of how the data collected was analysed and interpreted. The fifth section provides a brief assessment of the methodological approach. The sixth forms the conclusion.

4.2 Empirical research methodology

4.2.1 Mixed methods approach as the research strategy

In urban planning and design literature, assessments of the appropriateness of an urban setting or the quality of life in such a setting have been based either on objective indicators (Windley and Scheidt 1983; Walton, Dravitzki et al. 2007; Rogers and Sukolratanamettee 2009) or on subjective readings of the environment (Carp and Carp 1984; Kallus 2001; Kahana, Lovegreen et al. 2003). For example, studies of neighbourhood satisfaction levels which are based on quantitative and objective measures tend to concentrate more on the

neighbourhood as a whole, and to inquire about people's overall satisfaction with it (Van-Kamp, Leidelmeijera et al. 2003; Rofe 2004).

The major shortcoming of these studies (which are mainly aimed to take an objective stance) is their representation of reality through simplified abstract models and specialist language (Porta 1999: 451). For example, when making their evaluation, the experience of different areas within a neighbourhood has to be statistically aggregated to establish what Silverman (2000, 292) calls 'accumulative generalization' about the district as a whole. Furthermore, in the process of carrying out the objective measures, a distortion can easily be introduced because the respondents may be tempted to speak according to dominant social norms rather than reveal their intimate feelings and their sense – or lack - of personal well-being. Accordingly, there is a strong possibility that a resident's detailed knowledge of their neighbourhood can be obscured (Kallus 2001; Rofe 2004). Kahana and her collaborators (2003: 442) point out that, when using objective measures for the quality of the environment, 'an added problem' occurs. Because the measurement used for people on the one hand and the environment on the other may differ widely, they can distort any assessment made of how well one fits with the other. For example, 'it may be very difficult to determine what specific noise level in a neighbourhood would meet the needs of residents for a quiet neighbourhood' (Kahana, Lovegreen et al. 2003: 442).

By way of contrast, the subjective reading of the environment emerged in the field of urban design in the 1960s based on the work of Kevin Lynch (1960) and Jane Jacobs (1961) and Christopher Alexander (1977). These studies bear the sign of tensions generated during the struggles for the defence of local communities against aggressive modern urban development projects. Moreover, these studies indicate that there are patterns of generalisation between people with regard to their perception of the quality of places, and that they evaluate this perception at the macro level (i.e. the entire city and its region). Concerning the micro level (i.e. district and neighbourhood levels), the works of William Whyte (1980), Oscar Newman (1972), Amos Rappoport (1982), Clare Cooper-Marcus and Sarkissian (1986), Jan Gehl (1987), Jo Williams (2005) and others, mainly coming from the social sciences, attempt to investigate whether the kind of generalisation found at the widest scale prevails at the narrowest level by using people's evaluation and their own direct experience on site as a measure of the quality of life (Rofe 2004). Unlike the 'objective' approaches, these studies are mainly based on direct experience of a place,

together with ethnographic observation, which puts considerable emphasis on the personal interaction of the researcher in the field, the observation of human activities, social relationships, and the tension between these and the physical shape of an urban environment in order to understand the native's point of view (Ellin 1999; Porta 1999; Van-Kamp, Leidelmeijera et al. 2003).

There is a general consensus in the literature that objective as well as subjective indicators are necessary in studies of the person–environment relationship. Some conclusions go beyond this: the objective conditions do not convey the true quality: thinking about quality is not determined by the objective environment but by the perception people have of this environment (Carmona, Heath et al. 2003). The subjective studies allow us to gain insight into the well-being of a person, and insight into what people consider important. In contrast objective indicators are essential for aspects of the environment that are easy to quantify; they form the point of departure for environmental policy and may enable the validation of subjective measures. We postulate that the perception of environmental quality is influenced more by judgements about the environment and community well-being than by objective characteristics. This remains true when personal and social aspects are taken into account. Accordingly, employing a mixed method approach in which both objective and subjective perspectives can be combined, might be a useful strategy to obtain a better understanding of how the shapes of the urban environment affect people's activities and of how people feel towards these shapes (Kallus 2001; Kahana, Lovegreen et al. 2003).

4.2.2 The themes of the research

As indicated in the previous chapter (section 3.4.2), our investigation sets out to model the appropriateness of contemporary public spaces by combining the three interdependent dimensions of man-environment relationship in order to obtain a better prediction of how far these spaces are suited to their purpose and context. As also indicated, the appropriateness of public space, as a multi-dimensional concept, is a product of a number of interrelated concepts of civil life. These are the concepts of community, the public realm and urban design. With regard to urban design, this research proposes that determining whether a public space is appropriate in spatial terms depends on how far urban design interventions help create useful, desirable and meaningful spaces and how far urban space

is responsive to its potential users and compatible to its context; further how far it performs multiple functions and achieves many goals.

Determining whether any particular space is appropriate in socio-cultural terms depends on how far it has been designed to accommodate the needs and desires of all its users or a cross section of the community, how far it has been organised to be a setting for social interaction and a meeting ground for a wide range of people; and how far it can be controlled and made secure. Additionally, determining whether a public space is appropriate in institutional terms depends on how far local decision makers have succeed in introducing regulatory policies that enhance human experience in the public realm, and on how far the space has been produced to serve social objectives and bring about energized community participation in the construction and improvement work. In the best case, such a theoretical framework can function as a point of departure for theory building and thus has heuristic value. Moreover, out of the three basic criteria listed above (spatial, institutional and socio-cultural), six categories (independent variables) have been developed to model the basic measures of appropriateness: management, planning, design, usage, community, and personal (demographic, including age and gender). Additionally, each category encompasses several indicators or principles of appropriateness. For example, the category of design comprises a list of eight basic facets of design principles and environmental quality: attractiveness, liveability, unity, enclosure, convenience, connectivity, safety, and security.

Likewise, the category of management comprises eight basic principles and policies which are derived from widely accepted generic design principles and successful rules of intervention and management. The issue of urban development management has been subjected to repeated and detailed scrutiny over the last three decades. There has been much recent debate about the role of urban management in defining and affecting the quality of the built environment and successful place making. According to many urban theorists, including Pasaogullari and Doratli (2004), there is a real concern to increase a sense of community, efficiency, effectiveness, responsibility, equity, professional and municipal competence, participation, and good governance, and to make sure that planning and fiscal resources devoted to urban development management are worthwhile and constructive, and that they manage the delivery of public services and amenities in a positive manner. The basic premise is that determining whether a given public space can

be deemed appropriate depends on the extent to which the above principles have been considered in the practice of public space provision. Based on the theoretical framework of this research; we scrutinized different themes derived from these dimensions as explored in the literature. We also considered the main topics of our in-depth interviews themselves based on the above dimensions. From these topics we constructed the questions of both the face-to-face questionnaire and interviews as shown in **Tables 4-1, 4-2, and 4-3**. In these tables, we classified the themes identified from the literature, alongside the issues and hypotheses in a multi-dimensional framework. The tables are considered as devices to link different urban design dimensions with the appropriateness principles. Based on the themes we developed the different face-to-face questionnaires and in-depth interviews in order to determine the criteria for the assessment of public spaces. These themes are:

- I. Some possible notions or concepts which might be suggested in an attempt to establish a conceptual framework for the future provision of public spaces (Lynch 1960; Jacobs 1961; Alexander 1966; Cullen 1971; Newman 1972; Lang 1987; Lefebvre 1991; Carr, Francis et al. 1992; Madanipour 1996; Gehl 2000; Whyte 2000; Lang 2005)
- II. Residents' assessment of the general quality of public spaces in contemporary residential areas. This implies examining the perceptions and attitudes of both genders and different age groups (Talen 2000b; Bonaiuto, Fornara et al. 2003; Kahana, Lovegreen et al. 2003; Pasaogullari and Dortali 2004; Rofo 2004)
- III. The impact of the physical environment on socio-cultural activities, and the way human activity shapes the configuration and quality of public spaces (Barker 1968; Relph 1976; Rapoport 1982; Altman and Low 1992; Madanipour 2007).
- IV. The roles of different actors (providers, regulators, and users) in the production and construction processes of public spaces. Defining the nature of the interaction between these actors, the extent of public activity, and the impact this has on the amelioration of the space they occupy and about which they are active. Conversely, we examine the negative effect of social actors who lack the will or energy to demand improvement (Arendt 1958; Harvey 1973; Castells 1977; Healey 1997; World-Bank 2000; Rakodi 2001; Madanipour 2003; Lang 2005; MacKenzie and Lucio 2005; Madanipour 2006; UN-Habitat 2006; Carmona, de-Magalhaes et al. 2008; Punter 2010).

Table 4-1 Conceptual framework

Dimensions	Issues	Themes	Hypotheses	Questions
1 Personal	Gender Nationality Age Marital status Family size Occupation Education Income Residency	Residents' assessment of the general quality of public open spaces in the contemporary residential areas.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Different groups of inhabitant with different characteristics (age, gender, nationality, income level, residency type, education level, family structure and so on) have different degrees of use of public spaces. 2. Different groups of inhabitants have different attitudes towards their residential environment. 3. Different groups of inhabitants have different degrees of satisfaction towards existing public space provision. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What is the name of neighbourhood? 2. Number of family who live in the dwelling? 3. Is the head of household the owner of the dwelling? 4. What is the occupation of the HOH? 5. What is the income of the HOH? 6. What kind of residence do you occupy? 7. How long has the head of household lived in this neighbourhood? 8. What is the relation of the respondent to the head of household? 9. What is your gender? 10. What is your age? 11. What is your marital status? 12. What is your nationality? 13. What was the highest level of education you reached?
2 Usage	Pattern Barriers Accessibility Proximity Adequacy Diversity Comfort Clean	<p>Opportunities provided by public spaces, pattern of daily activities and constraint of usage of these spaces.</p> <p>The impact of the increased resident's perceptions to their vulnerability to criminal, sub-criminal activities and apprehension towards the outdoor areas within their neighbourhoods.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4. The spatial orientation of contemporary public spaces, the threat of traffic, and the social norm and activities do not support community functions and individual privacy, and have contributed to a loss of public life. 5. The provision of public spaces within modern residential areas in Jeddah does not consider simultaneous activities undertaken by the inhabitants and does not provide a better fit for the residents' social and recreational activities. 6. Many factors may influence social interaction and usage of public spaces. These include physical (planning and design) and physical (personal, formal social norms such as police and regulation, and informal social factors such as financial resources, activities, etc, 7. Xenophobia and Fear of crime and other people is one of the most limiting factors in outdoor public spaces. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 14. When you go outside for recreation where do you usually go? 15. When do you usually go out for recreation? 16. Do you have a private yard? 17. Are there parks near to your home? 18. If yes, how do you usually get to this park? 19. About how long would it take you to walk from your home to this park or recreational area? 20. How often each week do you use this park? 21. With whom do you usually visit this park? 22. When you visit this park how long this visit lasts? 23. What are the most activities you actually do when you go to the park that you usually visit? 24. What do you think of the provision of park/play area near to your home? 25. In your opinion what are the most limiting factors to be active in the local park in your neighbourhood?

Table 4-2 Conceptual framework

Dimensions	Issues	Themes	Hypotheses	Questions
3 Socio-cultural	Community Homogeneity Interaction Attachment Safety Symbolism Personality Territory	<p>The impact of physical environment on socio-cultural activities.</p> <p>The direct actions of local communities in the physical improvement of public spaces within their residential areas.</p> <p>Different events in the life of public spaces and how these aspects render significance in the resident's lives.</p>	<p>8 The heterogeneity of inhabitants and the spatial characteristic of modern residential areas do not promote social interaction, community participation and made it difficult for the residents to develop strong friendship or feel a sense of community.</p> <p>9 Modern residential areas do not provide symbolic communal spatial orientation.</p> <p>10 Modern residential areas do not allow individuals freedom to find privacy or feel attached to their environment, nor do they encourage self-expression.</p>	<p>26. What do you think of the socially mixed nature of your neighbourhood?</p> <p>27. How friendly is your neighbourhood?</p> <p>28. How interested are you in the events and affairs of your neighbourhood?</p> <p>29. Do you enjoy waking at your neighbourhood?</p> <p>30. Mention three aspects you think that are missing from your neighbourhood.</p> <p>31. Mention three positive aspects of the traditional neighbourhood in Jeddah you like to see in your current neighbourhood.</p> <p>32. Do you agree with the new suggestion of adopting the idea of gated communities to the modern residential areas in cities of Saudi Arabia in order to regulate undesirable through traffic and passer-by?</p> <p>33. What do you think of the quality of your neighbourhood?</p>
4 Planning	Land use Regulation Density Circulation Amenities Accessibility Diversity Equity	<p>The role of different actors (providers, regulators, planners, designers, and users) in the production and construction process of public spaces.</p>	<p>11 Modern urban planning standards are among the major factors that have played a significance role in negatively affecting the quality of contemporary public spaces within modern residential areas</p>	<p>34. What are the most significant problems facing the residents with the planning and construction of public spaces in Jeddah?</p> <p>35. Do you have any idea about the strategies or programmes carries out by the municipality in relation to public spaces within your neighbourhood?</p> <p>36. Do you think the participation of resident in the planning and design of public spaces within their neighbourhood would improve the existing situation? How?</p>

Table 4-3 Conceptual framework

Dimensions	Issues	Themes	Hypotheses	Questions
5 Management	Governance Responsibility Effectiveness Efficiency Equity Competence Coordination Autonomy participation	The experience in organizing the community to pursue improvement of their public spaces. This meant ask about the empowerment of the community to achieve organisation, participation and collective action in the improvement, management and maintenance process.	12 The lack of financial resources have probably played the most significant role in affecting negatively the nature of contemporary public open spaces 13 There is a direct correlation between the quality of urban development and the competence of the local authorities. 14 Public and private sectors cooperation and community involvement in public space provision would enhance the public realm.	37. Do you think the involvement of resident in the management of public spaces within their neighbourhood would improve the existing situation? 38. Do you think privately operated programmes for management and maintenance of local parks within your neighbourhood might be better than government operated one? Why? 39. For future public space provision do you think encouraging resident participation in the design, construction and maintenance process would help in improving the existing situation?
6 Design	Attractiveness Liveability Compatibility Enclosure Convenience Connectivity Safety Security	Some possible notions or concepts which might be suggested by way of attempting to establish a conceptual framework and design guidelines for future provision of urban public spaces.	15 Use of standardized structures and images for planning and design provides poor quality urban spaces.	40 What are the most important design, planning and development management criteria for public spaces provision within your neighbourhood? 41 How satisfied are you with the quality public spaces within your neighbourhood?

4.2.3 Selection of the research setting

The selection of Jeddah city as the geographical setting for this research has been developed on the basis of different considerations:

- I. Since the researcher comes from the city, he already has knowledge of and is familiar with the socio-cultural context of Jeddah and its different residential areas.
- II. The researcher has previously been involved in the development of many residential and recreational projects in the city.
- III. Since the author studied for his Bachelor of Urban and Regional Planning at the School of Environmental Design in Jeddah's King Abdulaziz University, and has also worked as a lecturer in the same institution, he has good contacts with academics and with various governmental departments that will be significantly helpful in finding relevant information about the different areas in the city and the case studies to be examined; more importantly, this will help in identifying the type and quality of data available - as will be explained later in this chapter.
- IV. Being from the city where the study is set, the researcher would expect that the cost in terms of time and effort needed to obtain access to services and facilities necessary for the fieldwork might be less than if another city in the Kingdom had been selected.
- V. Another reason for choosing Jeddah for the development of this research is that the city has grown enormously over the past several decades as part of the growth of the Saudi Arabian national economy, and its growing commercial activities. The researcher would expect, therefore, to obtain important insights from the study of a city in such a rapid state of flux.
- VI. Another important reason is that most urban research developed for Jeddah has given more attention to morphological aspects of the settlements and the practices related to the architectural production of the private environment; in contrast, little attention has been paid to the development of public spaces in modern residential areas. Therefore, this research may to some extent address the lack of research in this area.

4.2.4 Selection of case studies

With regard to the question of how many and which case studies need to be examined, De Vaus (2001: 226) points out that design can be based on single or multiple cases. 'Using the logic of replication a single case represents only one replication and does not necessarily provide a tough test of a theory'. Yin (1989) argues that a single case study can provide a moderately convincing test of a particular theory. De Vaus (2001: 227) points out that 'given sufficient resources and access to cases, multiple case designs will normally be more powerful and convincing than single case design'. Based on this argument, and to obtain a clear picture of public space provision in Jeddah, the multiple case studies technique has been used to carry out the present research. In doing so, selected case studies have been investigated and analysed individually, so that the results can be compared in order to identify similarities and commonalities.

In looking for modern residential areas in Jeddah (MRAJ) it became apparent that the city has many independent new settlements. After the first week's stay in Jeddah, the researcher arrived at the planned research sites. During the first few days, meetings and conversations were held with six people to ascertain the residents' reactions to the study and to gauge their feelings. The author drove around the selected neighbourhoods to check their suitability based on the research criteria which are stated on the following paragraph. After a careful study of aerial photographs of the city and, based on the rules of quota sampling procedures (this will be explained later in section 4.4), three districts were chosen (**Figure 4-1 and Table 4-4**): al-Shate'e (18 person / hectare), al-Salamah (129 persons / hectare), and al-Sharafeyah (225 person / hectare). (The present situation of these districts will be discussed in more detail in chapter five).

The selection was mainly based on the following criteria:

- I. The district should represent the contemporary residential area of the city; accordingly most of the selected districts are located in the northern part of Jeddah.
- II. The urban tissue and building density of the district should represent the existing contrast in building densities of Jeddah's modern districts.
- III. The availability of information. The researcher used his previous experience as

a Jeddah Municipality official to determine precisely which districts can be selected in order to obtain a degree of accuracy necessary to ensure the validity of his data. We have also sought to establish the amount of variation within the population in the modern residential areas in Jeddah. To determine which open spaces within the selected residential areas need to be chosen, in addition to his own background and his previous observations; the researcher sought the help of residents to locate the most important and most frequented public spaces within their neighbourhoods.

Table 4-4: The most important modern residential areas in Jeddah

District	Area in hectare	Population	Person/hectare
Obhor al-Janobeya	2827	15962	5.65
al-Khaldeyah	496.2	8121	16.37
al-Shate'e	1620.3	29077	17.95
al-Mohammadeyah	1190.7	27478	23.08
al-Nahdah	554.3	31100	56.11
al-Hamra	486.2	31451	64.69
al-Rawdah	836.5	76660	91.64
al-Safa	1400.3	159484	113.89
al-Faysaleyah	891.3	107201	120.27
al-Salamah	693.4	90099	129.94
Al-Rabwa	771.5	112694	146.07
al-Rowais*	378.9	63340	167.17
Al-Bwady	475	95164	200.34
al-Azeziah	689.8	128852	186.80
al-Shrafeyah	371.7	83507	224.66

Source: Jeddah Municipality, Jeddah structure plan (2005).

4.2.5 Empirical data sources

In order to establish a holistic conception of the present situation of public spaces in the case study two major sets of data are required: The first set focuses on Jeddah. It is about the experience of the urbanisation process and the transition of Jeddah from small organic town to the second biggest city in Saudi Arabia with many fragmented settlements. This part is based on collecting written literature and documents about the city. As will be explained later in this chapter (section 4.3.1), this part also uses in-depth interviews with knowledgeable sources and influential people: local authority officials, city planners,

architects, developers and the like. The second set of data focuses on the present situation of public spaces within the MRAJ. The intention of this part is to utilize both qualitative and quantitative survey methods in order to obtain the necessary data which includes general information about the history of these neighbourhoods, the behaviour of people using public spaces within these neighbourhoods, and the opinions and attitudes of different actors related to public space design and management. Organizational structure, inter-government cooperation, land policy, leadership and advocacy planning and design, public-private organization and other dimensions will be analyzed in order to assess the degree to which there exists a holistic vision that addresses all aspects of urban spaces.

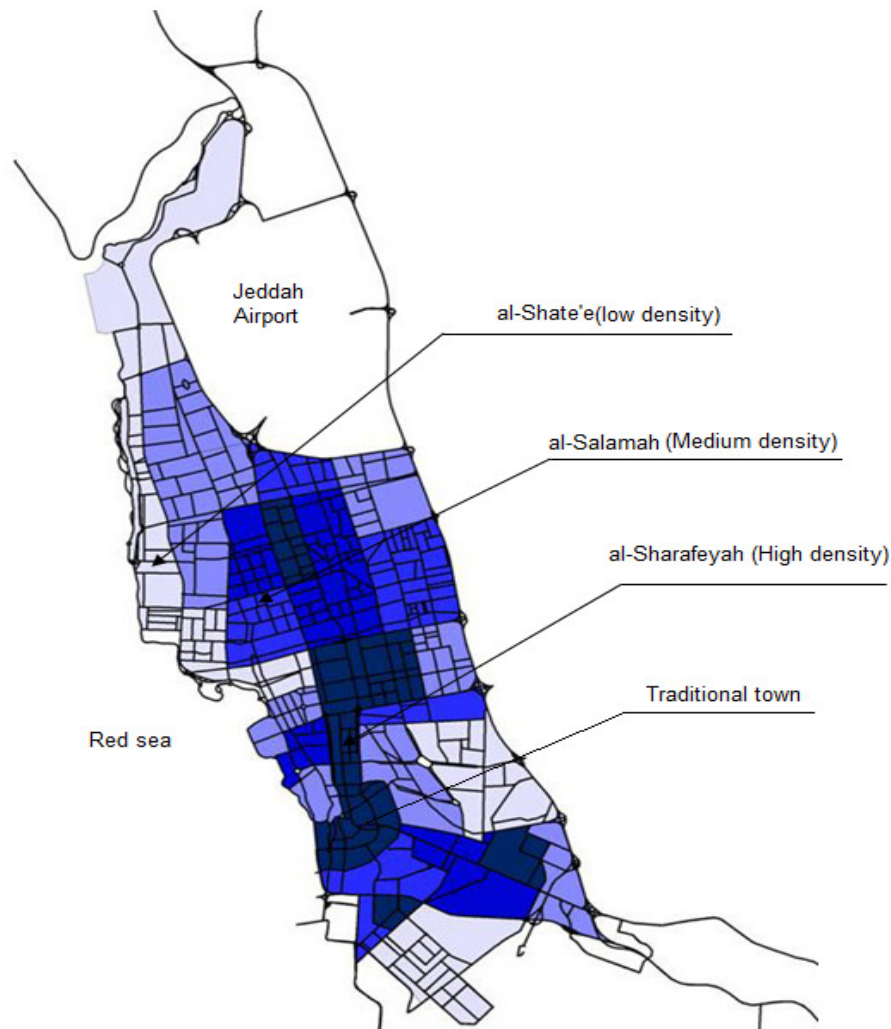


Figure 4-1 Jeddah map, the selected case studies. Source: Jeddah Municipality 2005.

4.3 Data collection methods

This study attempts to test and explore the question of how far public spaces within MRAJ are appropriate to their users and context. As stated in previously (section 4.2.3) , there has been little attempt to document contemporary processes of public space provision in a multidimensional framework. Such a framework may help us investigate public space within the MRAJ from the perspective of providers, regulators, and users. The application of an integrated approach to a particular urban setting gives us a holistic conception of how these spaces are constructed, and also how they are perceived psychologically.

As stated earlier (section 4.2.1), the combination of the qualitative and quantitative methodologies is essential sometimes to compensate for the limited applicability of both methodologies so that a relatively clear outcome may be obtained and the questions of this study may be addressed. The quantitative part of this research, which uses face-to-face questionnaires, can be viewed as facilitating an understanding of each user's characteristics, attitudes, concerns, evaluations, degrees of satisfaction and expectations as well as a perspective on what type of amenities, resources and elements they preferred to be included in public open spaces within their districts. Meanwhile, the qualitative method is also used in order to obtain more evidence concerning the contemporary situation of public space provision and to elicit the stakeholders' opinions and perceptions of the contemporary public spaces within this context by conducting in-depth interviews.

In doing so, quantitative results from a segment of MRAJ need to be obtained by asking a segment of residents from different age and gender groups to complete the face-to-face questionnaire and, at the same time, conducting in-depth interviews with a few individuals and stakeholders related to public space provision in this context. This means that the researcher in the quantitative survey should focus on obtaining objective measures and numerical data in order to establish cumulative generalisation while focusing on collecting subjective data in the qualitative survey in order to obtain validity and reliability of findings from field research (Ary 1972).

4.3.1 In-depth interviews

As discussed in chapter two, the individual experiences a public space created by various contextual forces. Equally, individual users and residents also generate their own understandings and shape their physical environment (Low and Lawrence 2003). Accordingly, we propose that public space reflects a complex process in which different representations are produced by a variety of actors. These representations express the power relations between different groups or stakeholders (Madanipour 2006). From this point of view, human activities in ordinary spaces and in everyday life need to be examined through direct contact with people within the study area in an effort to sort out the different themes and interpretations that arise from every stakeholder. The main purpose of the empirical survey contained in this study is to determine the present state of public spaces within the MRAJ and to identify the level of satisfaction experienced by the communities within this context. We have, therefore, questioned not only users but non-users as well. Multiple polling will ensure a lack of bias and a relative objectivity of response (Porta 1999, Kallus 2001, Rofo 2004).

For the purpose of this research, two types of in-depth interviews have been utilized: semi-structured interviews and elite interviews. The semi-structured interview employs both closed and open-ended questions which allow the research to gain input from different groups within society (Gillham 2000: 60). The questions have been written out in advance, forming a type of questionnaire, and outlining the issue to be examined. While the closed-end question constitutes an answer which has a limited set of response categories, the open-end question is subject to interpretation by the interviewee. The format of these questions have been tested and developed before conducting the interviews. The design of the questions put in the interviews was based on the literature and modified in response to project advisors and experts in the field.

Questions have also been made responsive to the nature and position of interviewees and participants. All questions have been translated from English into standard Arabic with the assistance of the author's sister, a professional text-checker in the Ministry of Education in Jeddah. Generally speaking, the semi-structured interviews have been carried out with the residents and users of public spaces within the selected residential areas, which took the form of informal conversations (Rubin and Rubin 1995). The elite interviewing has been

carried out with the influential local authority officials related to public space provision such as some officials from the Provisional Governor's Office, the Jeddah Municipality and the Police Department.

4.3.2 The face-to-face questionnaire

To achieve simplicity in the technical details of the questionnaires, we decided to follow Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias (1992) and Moser & Kalton's (1971) work, regarding the number of questions, the style of questions (for example, open ended, close ended, matrix, contingency), and the distribution and follow up of the questionnaire survey. Simplifying the questionnaire also meant that a simple level of measurement and recording methods had to be employed. The level of measurement used in the questionnaires was primarily based on multiple choice methods and the use of a nominal level which classifies a variable into pre-determined categories. However, some questions employed other methods of measuring the responses.

In particular, the questions that dealt with gathering information on residents' assessment of the practice of public space provision required elaboration beyond multiple choices. Some of these questions were associated with an assessment scale mainly consisting of five grades or ranks. Participants were asked to mark the scale to show the level of their satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the quality of a local park or neighbourhood attributes. Additionally, in other questions respondents ranked their degree of agreement with a statement with regard to the public space provision within their neighbourhood. In analysing the completed survey, different points were given to the answers, with higher answers gaining higher points. This method allowed for a more precise means of classifying the selected answers respondents gave than the simple analysis of the nominal methods. In order to obtain a clear view of the relative defects before starting the main survey, a preliminary informal test of the questionnaire has been done within colleagues, friends and experts.

4.3.3 Photographs and additional documentation

Photographs can be used in qualitative and ethnographic studies as a source for the examination of visual phenomena (Ball and Smith 1992). Such a technique can be utilised

by researchers as illustrations of research concepts and as a test for their hypotheses (Zeisel 1981). Accordingly, photographs were employed in the observation process of the case studies. It is a direct technique used to evoke experience and memories of participants about the present situation of public spaces within the MRAJ. Moreover, photographs of people and physical artefacts within each case study have been taken as a source of data, immediate evidence and as a complementary part of the mixed methods approach.

During the survey and interviews the residents of different neighbourhoods under study provided important documents which have been utilised as a source of evidence. The documents are mainly letters addressed to different municipal agencies where residents believed they could obtain assistance. These letters are addressed to governmental officials such as the Governor of Makkah Region and Mayor of Jeddah. These letters inform us about the different needs and problems experienced by residents in their neighbourhoods. They also provide evidence about how improvements of public spaces within their district took place. In addition, some residents kept newspaper articles related to these letters as well as special events and facts about their neighbourhoods. Most of these were acquired from the local educated individuals striving to make change in their neighbourhoods. These articles were collected to complement the information gathered from other data sources.

4.3.4 Direct observations

A primary tool in the study of the built environment, as discussed in Lynch (1960), is the visual perception which the observer builds through his or her direct contact with the different spaces and places. Likewise, Gordon Cullen (1961) looks at the urban environment in which its artefacts and spaces are explored through the faculty of sight, through which one apprehends the urban environment, experiencing it through serial visions caused by the body's movement. Similarly, William Whyte (1980) looks at urban spaces observing urban life, uses of the surrounding urban setting and the activities of people in this setting. He looks at these spaces as a setting of social life. The way observation has been used by these researchers offers insights in different dimensions of public space provision.

Banerjee and Loukaitou-Sideris (1992) in their study of the production of public space in Los Angeles downtown, in which the author of this thesis has participated, observed the

uses of different plazas, the people who use them, the impact of institutional physical and economic factors on usage patterns, attitudes and perceptions.

The field observations were conducted on several occasions during the different fieldwork periods. The first visit was during the months of May, June, and July 2005 and during the months of June, July, August, November, December 2006 and January 2007. The trail observations were mainly conducted in order to give an illustrative dimension to the research, to describe the public spaces within the case studies and to assess the problems of public space provision and as a source of evidence. Observation began with systemically and repeatedly looking at the physical surroundings and aerial photographs of the selected neighbourhoods in order to record spatial and visual characteristics of the existing public spaces within their physical boundaries. In the early stages of the research, the researcher went to different public spaces in the selected neighbourhoods. The purpose was to look at the urban design elements and the spatial attributes of these neighbourhoods (form, size, appearance, features, spatial patterns, spatial hierarchy, and structure).

In later stages of the research, the observation technique was conducted to assess how public spaces are used and experienced at different days and times as well as in special celebrations. Throughout these periods of observation, the user count method was also applied at various time periods especially after prayer times and at weekends (Thursday and Friday). To understand the spatial behaviour, visual scanning and coding techniques for recording different types of activities on standardised form were incorporated during each observation session. This was also carried out in order to find out how people interact with each other and with the surrounding physical environment and spatial context, especially people who cannot be interviewed. As Zeisel (1984) indicates, this observing technique is useful to compare and contrast the state of different urban settings.

4.4 Sampling design

4.4.1 Sampling design in social sciences

Previous experience in developing countries illustrates that sampling poses formidable problems (references). This is due to the lack of updated census tracts and sampling frames about the population and updated statistics of citizens and their dwellings (Bulmer

and Warwick 1993). In Saudi Arabian cities, unfortunately, this situation was and still continues to constrain investigators. Accordingly, the design of sample surveys faces considerable challenges because of the lack of a reliable sample frame and the barriers of the existing social reality. Additionally, it is also impossible for the researcher to approach a dwelling directly as stipulated when using random sampling selection such as area sampling. People in Saudi Arabia are dominated by an extreme degree of privacy; mostly with respect to females and their private life in the dwelling territory. Anyone familiar with Middle Eastern countries knows in Saudi Arabia there are more restrictions than in any other Arab or Moslem countries. The local values are reflected in the social environment, and serve as barriers to the successful implementation of a survey based on the rules of the probability sampling techniques (Al-Nowaiser 1982).

Since most of the people in Jeddah city are exposed to similar religious and social influences contributing to the formation of an individual's environmental preferences, it became clear that a quota sampling would be most appropriate for this context. Quota sampling is similar to stratified sampling, in which the researcher seeks to investigate a particular group of subjects with certain characteristics such as age and gender, in the proportion in which they exist in the total population (Adams and Schvaneveldt 1991; Cohen and Manion 1994).

4.4.2 Why quota sampling

To summarise the above discussion, quota sampling was chosen as a feasible sampling design for selecting representative case studies as well as interviewing a representative segment of residents for the following reasons:

- I. Lack of reliable sample frame and the existing social reality in Jeddah might form an interview barrier to the random selection of residents because of their inaccessibility (Al-Nowaiser 1982; Bulmer and Warwick 1993; Al-Hokail 1995).
- II. Previous researches conducted in the Jeddah context show that the population densities and vacancy rates in the selected neighbourhoods are different. This would make it difficult to employ random area sampling and a systematic

geographical stratification successfully (Alharbi 1989; Hammadi 1993; Jenaideb 1993; Khalil 1994; Sobahi 1995).

- III. As discussed in Moser and Kalton (1971: 127) and Simon (1978: 142), although quota sampling lacks the theoretical basis of the random sampling, it can be used safely on some subjects under study in order to yield very reliable information, which in turn assists to obtain generalizations.
- IV. For the questionnaire to be completed by the participant, it might take one and half hours. Accordingly, the interviewer has to wait not only for an adequate block of time, but also for the right time and right atmosphere. It seems that it is difficult to allocate the final actual sampling units to fit into the framework of the study by adapting probability sampling, especially in the case of asking an inexperienced individual to successfully complete a questionnaire with many different variables and intentions (Al-Nowaiser 1982; Al-Naim 1998; Akkar 2003).
- V. This study seeks to compare the findings of the three contrasted case studies to identify commonalities and similarities between them. However, it would be different if the study employed only one case study for a different purpose. Sampling methodology will be the same for the selected case studies (Yin 1994; Gold 1997; De Vaus 2001).

To employ quota sampling safely, the population of the case studies was separated into strata as recommended by Moser and Kalton (1971: 129). This separation was based on the difference in their opinions on the subject under study. The sampling size was calculated according to the rules of statistical theory. This requires an initial step of the sampling procedure by stratifying the population of the selected districts to form homogenous strata (group) with regard to the research variables (age and sex structure). The final selection of actual sampling units (individuals) was based on the researcher choice (Table 4-4 & 4-5). That is to say, the reason behind choosing quota methods as stated earlier its flexibility and suitability to the prevailing social condition in these different neighbourhoods.

4.4.3 Sampling size

The total required number of face-to-face questionnaires must be no less than 384 questionnaires. Accordingly, we conducted 450 questionnaires so that the final amount of

completed questionnaires satisfies the role of the statistical theory (**Tables 4-5, 4-6, 4-7, and 4-8**). With regard to sample size for the in-depth interviews, due to the lack of sampling frame for the heads of the departments of Jeddah Municipality and those who have some decision making role in local authority, the selection of those individuals was based on two main criteria. The first criterion is the concept of purposive quota sampling in which sampling selection is dictated by the researcher's choice and willingness of individuals to co-operate. The second criterion is the point of saturation which is explained by Ragin (1994: 86) as the point at which the researcher feels that he is not learning new things from the recently conducted interviews about the case study. Accordingly the investigators should stop conducting more interviews. In this sense, as Ragin (1994) further points out, the appropriate sample size cannot be predetermined in advance, and the question of how many interviews the researcher will have to conduct before the point of saturation is reached will be governed by what the researcher actually experienced in the field.

Table 4-5: Percentages of age and sex structure in Jeddah

Age group	Male	Female	Total
00—04	5.89	5.95	11.84
05—09	5.62	5.78	11.40
10—14	5.45	4.48	9.93
15—19	6.35	3.59	9.94
20—24	5.04	4.23	9.28
25—29	4.47	6.06	10.53
30—34	5.23	4.59	9.82
35—39	5.74	4.31	10.05
40—44	3.38	2.39	5.78
45—49	3.26	1.65	4.91
50—54	1.49	1.01	2.50
55—59	0.79	0.77	1.56
60—64	0.94	0.31	1.25
65 +	0.80	0.42	1.23
Total	54.45	45.55	100.00

Source: Municipality, Jeddah Structure Plan 2002.

Table 4-6: Determining the sample size from a given population

population	Sample size	population	Sample size	population	Sample size
10	10	220	140	1200	291
15	14	230	144	1300	297
20	19	240	148	1400	302
25	24	250	152	1500	306
30	28	260	155	1600	310
35	32	270	159	1700	313
40	36	280	162	1800	317
45	49	290	165	1900	320
50	44	300	169	2000	322
55	48	320	175	2200	327
60	52	340	181	2400	331
65	56	360	186	2600	335
70	59	380	191	2800	338
75	63	400	196	3000	341
80	66	420	201	3500	346
85	70	440	205	4000	351
90	73	460	210	4500	354
95	76	480	214	5000	357
100	80	500	217	6000	361
110	86	550	226	7000	364
120	92	600	234	8000	367
130	97	650	242	9000	368
140	103	700	248	10000	370
150	108	750	254	15000	375
160	113	800	260	20000	377
170	118	850	265	30000	379
180	123	900	269	40000	380
190	127	950	274	50000	381
200	132	1000	278	75000	382
210	136	1100	285	1000000	384

Source: Krejcie and Morgan (1970), "Determining Sample Size for Research Activities", Education and Psychological Measurement, 30: 607-610.

Table 4-7 Age and gender groups proportion

Age group	Male			Female			Total		
	%	No.	Sample	%	No.	Sample	%	Population	Sample
0-14	16.96	404722	66	16.21	386653	63	33.17	791375	129
15-29	15.86	378472	63	13.88	331503	54	29.75	709975	117
30-44	14.35	342438	56	11.29	269499	44	25.65	611937	100
45-59	5.54	132203	21	3.43	81809	13	8.97	214012	34
Over 60	1.74	41521	7	0.73	17520	3	2.48	59039	10
Total	54.5	1299354	213	45.5	1086984	177	100	2386338	390

Source: Municipality, Jeddah Structure Plan 2002.

Table 4-8: Stratified Sampling methods

Age	a l-Sharafeyah (83507)			al-Salamah (90099)			al-Shate'e (29077)			Total sampling		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
0-14	22	21	43	22	21	43	22	21	43	66	63	129
15-29	21	18	39	21	18	39	21	18	39	63	54	117
30-44	19	15	34	19	15	34	18	14	32	56	44	100
45-59	7	5	12	7	5	12	7	3	10	21	13	34
Over 60	3	1	4	3	1	4	1	1	2	7	3	10
Total	72	60	132	72	60	132	69	57	261	213	177	390

Source: Fieldwork, Jeddah, January 2007.

4.5 Field work

To carry out the fieldwork, three phases have been undertaken to fulfil the study objectives. In these stages different research activities took place and different research strategies were utilized. Each stage shares similarities and differences in focus. The main reason for carrying out three stages was to record the production process and usage pattern during the time available for completion of the PhD programme (5 years). In this way public spaces could be observed at different seasons. Moreover, since a mixed method approach covers various topics, each stage helps to gather the data available using a specific tool of data gathering methods. For example, in one stage the researcher was not able to observe some public spaces in the selected neighbourhoods as case studies, but achieved this in later stages. In general these different stages allowed the researcher to record events and changes within a period of four years.

4.5.1 Pilot study

The first stage was devoted to the pilot study which took place during the period from 20 May to 15 August 2005. The objectives of the pilot study were to obtain a clear view about the availability of data, to test the potential of the chosen residential areas, to explore the questions of the study and to identify the best way of managing the study. This stage began by collecting data such as base maps, aerial photographs for different dates for the city as well as different maps for the selected case studies with different scales from the municipality of Jeddah. In addition, reports of Jeddah's master plan and statistical materials were gathered. During this phase, the researcher was able to consult some technical professionals who gave guidance, advice and information.

The first explorative survey involved the researcher visiting the different districts in the planned part of Jeddah city in order to immerse himself in the environment of modern residential areas. It was extremely useful, as it would have been very difficult to define the research direction without carrying out this investigation. Some photographs were taken in each district to illustrate the overall image of the built environment and the general state of contemporary public spaces within this context. These visits also consisted of walks, observations and short conversations which covered five of modern residential areas in Jeddah.

In order to find out whether employing face-to-face questionnaires and in-depth interviews as a means of enquiry was feasible for this study, the researcher met with five of knowledgeable people in Jeddah who are from various research locations and from the Faculty of Environmental Design and Engineering Collage. These people remain in constant contact with the different districts and neighbourhoods of the city. The subject of research and the initially proposed sampling methodology was discussed with them.

While most of them seemed to be aware of conducting questionnaire surveys, none of them were aware of any field sampling in-depth interviews done on this subject. Nevertheless, it was difficult to guess the effectiveness of both methods, no matter what the methodology would be, since it was not known how the people of these residential areas would react to such a procedure. The researcher realized that he would have to conduct the face-to-face questionnaires and in-depth interviews himself, with assistance from volunteers at different neighbourhoods. This was deemed necessary because the researcher felt more comfortable conducting the interviews himself or supervising volunteers closely in order to collect reliable information.

For the face-to-face questionnaire method to be effective statistically, it required large sample sizes with varied characteristics that reflected the variation existing in the total population. In order to find out the reasonable sampling method and sample size which truly represented the population, a preliminary survey was conducted during the period from 18 June to 10 September 2006. The sample size of this survey was 60 questionnaires. This was also carried out in order to understand how the questions should be structured and how it would be received, as the aim was to obtain feedback. The questionnaire was translated into Arabic before it was sent to the official of both Ministry of Education and the General Directorate of Girls' Education who provided official letters and helped the author in selecting the targeted schools within the selected case studies. The approval of the final questionnaire took place once strategy decisions had been made including the use of private and public schools in Jeddah and also in which schools the questionnaires would be circulated. This was related to a wider research requirement, namely the validity of the findings, which would influence how well the sample represented the population being reached.

Based upon the findings of the preliminary pilot study and the experience of previous researchers, the researcher found that conducting 450 questionnaires for the present study was a manageable number especially with the assistance of volunteers. Moreover, the pilot survey highlighted some of the weaknesses in the questionnaire. In order to improve reliability of the data gathered, some questions were corrected, others rephrased and some required more explanation. The questions with an open-ended format, for example, were revised to be questions with appropriate response categories in order to ensure that all the questions were capable of being answered adequately. For another example, more questions which reflected the perception of residents toward particular issues of the existing practice of public space construction were added. On the other hand, since personal interviews by male researchers with females are banned for cultural reasons the idea of utilizing female assistants gave an opportunity to tackle this problem and to explore important insights into women's opinions. In general, the outcome from the pilot study gave valuable information for further development of the main survey

4.5.2 Quantitative surveys

The quantitative survey took place during the period from 25 December 2006 to 16 January 2007. The aim of this survey was to collect primary data about personal ideas, thoughts, beliefs, attitudes and expectations of public space provision within modern residential areas in Jeddah. In doing so, the researcher decided to conduct the questionnaires and in-depth interviews face-to-face due to the difficulty of conducting telephone interviews because in this society people prefer face to face contact in business. In addition, the mail questionnaire procedure (postal survey) is inappropriate in Jeddah society since most people seldom use this service especially within the city boundary. Additionally, it was necessary to modify the questions to suit all age groups. It also became clear that the use of a lengthy set of structured questions have to be modified. Therefore, two sets of questionnaires were produced, one with a minimal amount of questions and another with more comprehensive set of questions.

The comprehensive questionnaire was for residents of the selected neighbourhoods and the shorter one for the school age group (5-18). The latter required changing the wording of questions and the minimization of the number of the questions so that it would not take more than 45 minutes for the students to complete. The first step in the

field was to obtain the official approval of the Ministry of Education and the General Directorate of Girls' Education so that the researcher could conduct the survey in the targeted schools (**Appendix 1 & 2**). In addition, there was a need to obtain approval from the police department in Jeddah in order to conduct the interviews at the selected public spaces in the case studies. The process of obtaining these approvals consisted of several steps, such as obtaining an official letter from King Abdul Aziz University addressed to these governmental organizations informing them about the purpose of the study.

The structure of the quantitative survey was conducted in three districts in Jeddah. These were al-Shate, al-Salamah and al-Sharafeyah. As indicated previously 450 questionnaires needed to be conducted so that the final sample size would be 384 responses, which is the minimum required to be representative. Accordingly, equal numbers (150) of face-to-face questionnaires were completed by residents and users of public spaces in each of the case studies. The residents of the selected district had been approached at similar locations: homes, surrounding park, streets, pathways, workplaces, schools, mosques, stores, the suq, courtyards, and other communal places.

In order to have a good chance of response, the majority of face-to-face questionnaires were given to a portion of students who were studying in public and private schools. This method was chosen because of its speed, applicability and suitability to collect reliable data. The private schools within al-Shate district were chosen because most of the children come from high income families who prefer private school. A standard schedule was used for this survey as the author and his assistants arranged a time with the head of the schools in order to explain the aim of the survey which would then be explained to the students. In each of the selected districts, six schools of different levels for both genders (i.e. primary, intermediate and secondary) had been randomly chosen (three boys and three girls' schools) in which face-to-face questionnaires were completed by the students. Based on the information given by the students, their families and neighbours were approached and interviewed.

After the students were contacted at school, they were selected randomly and then grouped in order to fill in the questionnaires, which took approximately 45 minutes to complete. Since the sampling units of the study were the residents, another group of

students was asked to take a letter from the researcher to their fathers informing them about the purpose of the study and asking them to tick the convenient times either to come to meet the researcher at school or at their private homes. With the help of the social affair advisors in each school who contacted the fathers we scheduled a suitable meeting time. The researcher was able to conduct the questionnaire interviews with more than the required number of the adult groups (according to quota procedure) in al-Sharafeyah district but in the other two districts, especially in al-Shate'e district, the fathers who could not attend at the time of the determined meeting were reached at their houses. In al-Shate'e district it was not difficult for the researcher to meet the fathers since most of them are neighbours but in al-Salamah district, the fathers and adult groups were reached through the people who interviewed in the school and introduced the researcher to their neighbours. Other adult individuals have been reached with the help of the mosque leaders in this district as well as the users of the public spaces under investigation

While the young male residents, who were mainly students, were approached at schools, the other adult and young adult male sample groups had been approached in various locations including homes, offices, mosques, streets, and in other outdoor places within the selected districts. According to quota procedure, the initial stage of the survey started with contacting knowledgeable and suitable individuals who put the researcher in touch with other suitable individuals. According to statistical theory, the sampling units should consist of different gender groups who are living in the neighbourhoods during the time of the survey. However, due to the suggested quota sampling procedure that was used, the sampling unit of the adult male and females has a common feature, they are adults with children attending schools. This meant the sample of the adults was not representative of single adult or non-family members.

With regard to female residents, the female research assistants contacted the female principals of schools within the selected districts and informed them about the subject of the survey. The teachers of these schools were given some questionnaires to give to their students. In order to obtain the best answers, the students were grouped during their lunch break so that the female research assistants could read the questions to them and make sure that most of the students' understood and completed the questionnaire. The adult women's group was approached mainly in their homes or at school. This was

completed by female research assistants and by using some female volunteers such as the members of Jeddah Park Association, the head of the family, a brother, sister, other relatives and the researcher. This selection scheme was aimed to provide a variety that is crucial in avoiding bias in sampling design. Concerning the statistical methods and the analysis of the information that will be gathered from the sample, forthcoming chapters will discuss some of these issues connected with it in more detail.

4.5.3 Qualitative Survey (in-depth interviews)

The qualitative survey took place in different stages. The first stage was conducted during the time of the pilot study, the period from 20 May to 15 August 2005. The second stage was carried out during the period of the explorative survey from 18 June to 10 September 2006. The third stage took place during the period from 25 December 2006 to 16 January 2007 at the same time as the quantitative survey. During these periods the decision was taken to investigate a small number of public spaces located in the selected neighbourhoods. Moreover, during this time, 30 in-depth interviews were carried out with key actors in the different processes of production, construction and consumption of public space within this context.

Stakeholder mapping exercise - Three different groups were identified from the population of Jeddah city as the key actors who might be involved in the planning, design, management, and maintenance processes of public space provision. The first group was the providers of public spaces such as the municipality officials who were working in the Department of City Planning and the General Directory of Researches and Projects and their consultants. The second group was the regulators and designers of public space who were represented by the municipality officials in the General Directory of Landscaping, Maintenance and Operations Department. This group also consisted of private landscape designers and the officials of the cleaning company for the city. As explained previously in section 4.3.1, elite interviews were conducted with these two groups.

The third group was the residents of the case studies and users of public spaces who are mainly represented by the residents of different case studies (i.e. property owners and tenants of the properties surrounding the public spaces, school age children and actors who operated such as street traders, pedestrians and shoppers).

Based on what Groat and Wang (2002) discuss, that a qualitative approach seeks to examine or explain socio-physical phenomena with complex contexts in a holistic approach, the qualitative inquiry of this research attempts to obtain a holistic form of analysis and explanation. As discussed by Marshall and Rossman (1995: 15) the qualitative approach allows the researcher to examine selected issues in depth and detail. The qualitative inquiry of the residents of the different case studies and the users of public spaces attempts to understand their attitudes, perceptions and evaluations toward public spaces provision and asks the following example questions: What do you think of the provision of park/play area near to your home? What do you think of the current changes in the extended family structure? Mention three things you think that are missing from your neighbourhood. Mention three positive aspects of the past neighbourhood you like to see in your current neighbourhood.

Similarly, members of the providers and regulators groups, such as the city officials of Jeddah Municipality, have been included in the survey in order to gain insight into some of the concerns and policies that govern the practical side of public space provision in the Jeddah context. Owing to the lack of a sampling frame for the individuals of different departments in the municipality and related outside organizations, the choice of officials was decided upon by the position in the hierarchy that a participant held. The issues that the providers' group were asked about are very similar to those that have been addressed with other members of the regulators group, which covers the practical aspects of the planning and design process (**Appendix 3**). This involves the following types of questions: What are the main goals that your authority would like to achieve through open space provision? How do you determine what recreation activities/experiences are to be permitted in a given public space?

In order to guarantee successful access and reliable interview respondents, the research was based on the idea of 'overt access' which requires giving information about the research subjects, questions, lists of different ideas and obtaining the agreement of the participants. After making sure that the subject of the research was well understood by participants, consent was obtained from them. Beside this, the researcher avoided appearing judgmental on particular values and practices of the interviewees and he was careful to not comment on what people said (Mason 1996; Silverman 2000). Moreover, in order to have a friendly discussion with the interviewee, the researcher tried his best to

ensure that people felt safe and comfortable about the method of the research. Confidentiality and anonymity was stressed to research participants in the introduction and ending discussion, being careful not to push the interviewee to talk more about sensitive subjects (Wengraf 2001). As previously indicated, the aim of this research is to gain a holistic insight into the dynamic of these spaces. This means that in order to obtain the data, close interaction with the field was required. Such interaction took place over long periods over the past five years of the PhD programme. The observed public life pattern and behavioural activities in the selected open spaces will be compared in the next chapters. After the examination of each case study individually, the findings will be compared in order to find similarities and differences of people's perceptions, attitudes and interactions with regard to the change in their physical development schemes.

A pre-test of the in-depth interview was made while searching for the appropriate residential areas. It was apparent after conducting five test interviews in the al-Salamah neighbourhood that:

- The greater a relationship developed between the interviewer and the respondent, the more detailed the answers.
- Knowledge of the local dialect and the ability to use it in written and oral interviews would be very helpful in communicating.
- More simplified and self-explanatory interviews were needed.
- It was important to use different approaches with different kinds of people depending on age, level of education and sex. This would enable the respondent to more fully understand and answer according to his/her own perceptions of the environment and the social conditions.
- The appropriate way to elicit information from the adult respondents was to contact them at locations other than their homes, e.g., at work, business, school, and the market.

In some of the selected residential sites, there were local residents who volunteered to assist in conducting the interviews. Some were recent graduates and others were teachers. While they were already familiar with the interview procedure at the outset, they were still briefed. They were also closely supervised on almost every

questionnaire they administered. Since the volunteers seemed to be liked by the neighbourhood's residents, one of their main roles was to introduce the researcher and explain his study to the respondents, and sometimes, to arrange a time for interviews. Each of the selected residential areas was studied individually, analysing the effect of the modern open spaces on their inhabitant's quality of life. Analysis of the words used in the interviews recorded at the time of interviews was carried out. The long interaction with the participants and the setting contributed to the establishment of holistic insight as well as obtaining reliable data (Groat and Wang 2002: 182; Denzin and Lincoln 2003).

4.6 Analysis and level of measurement

The analysis and interpretation of the collected data was targeted to describe and explain the present situation of public space provision. To analyse the data from both the quantitative and qualitative surveys, inductive and deductive approaches were used. For the quantitative survey, the nominal level of measurement was employed as the basic method for analysing collected data. As mentioned previously, the majority of the questions in the face-to-face questionnaire were structured on such a level of measurement. However, some questions did employ other methods of measuring the sample answers, such as scale and ranking methods, specifically the questions that dealt with gathering information on respondent satisfaction and attitudes. Accordingly, the type of analysis that was employed with the data was mainly based on cross-tabulation, chi-squared, ANOVA and MANOVA tests; with the idea of establishing whether or not a response was dependent on a certain variable. The tests are popular in social science research and they are also good for establishing broad associations from which generalisations may be drawn (Hubert 1989). This will be explained in more detail in subsequent chapters.

With regard to the qualitative survey, the analysis of the in-depth interviews and other data such as photographs was mainly based on an inductive approach in order to identify key themes and then synthesizing the result into textual narrative. The data was constantly analysed regarding key events, facts and turning points. The interpretation and analysis process of the research took place from the first stage of fieldwork when the researcher refined the scope and research questions. There was also an analytical reasoning taking place while interviewing and observing the selected neighbourhoods as case studies. Then

the transcription of most interviews took place. In doing so, translation of some extracts was carried out in order to include people's voices as a source of evidence. Based on the semantic and communicative concepts of the translation theory (Newmark 1991), and in order to avoid conveying a different meaning, literal translation of the interviews' expressions from Arabic to English language were kept as much as possible.

After transcribing the most important interviews, which provided information related to different processes of production and construction of public spaces, a coding scheme was developed to categorize and classify the data into different topics that could answer the research questions. In this way, three major categories were established. The first category covered themes about the production of public spaces and the role of different actors related to this process. The second major category covered themes about the physical attributes and the construction process of public spaces. The third category covered issues about the usage pattern and the social construction of public spaces in which functional, social and symbolic dimensions are classified. From these three categories the analysis of the data unfolded and it was possible to explore and test the questions of this research.

4.7 Conclusion

In order to establish a connection between the conceptual framework and the techniques applied in the empirical survey, a multi-dimensional model for public spaces was adopted, with such spaces viewed as a product of interrelated dimensions: spatial, institutional and socio-cultural. The model provides the conceptual basis for assessing the present state of public space provision within MRAJ as embodied in the research objectives. As is the case with this research, the sequence of presentation of the model generally moves from abstract and broad (concepts of civil society) towards specific (questions of the questionnaires and interviews). In general, both the conceptual framework and the empirical survey provided a means for undertaking on-site assessment of the state of public spaces within this context. Thus, the practice of public space provision is viewed and analysed in its local context rather than from grand narratives that may not reflect the actual practice. That is to say, the scope of the research was limited to specific questions relating to the three public space dimensions (spatial, institutional and socio-cultural) and subsequent models can function as a point of departure for theory building and thus have heuristic value.

Empirical studies relating to the debate on the quality or appropriateness of the contemporary of public space are relevant to many geographical settings. The negative impacts ascribed to present provision practices in Jeddah city need to be backed by scientific evidence and a holistic approach in order to clarify the multi-dimensionality of this practice. The author's concerns regarding the data necessary for this work led to an early decision to employ exploratory and explanatory research approaches that would utilize both fieldwork and documentary methods. We used an empirical approach based on a mixed-methods strategy; we applied a technique built around case studies, in order to learn from experts in the field and to benefit from their experience.

Previous scholars and experience indicate that this task cannot be achieved unless different techniques for data collection are used in order to offer flexibility and opportunities to adapt to the nature of the context under study. That is to say, using various data collection tools, the methodology enables the testing of different scenarios and achieves validity and reliability of the data. Biases inherited from one method could be offset by using other techniques of study, seeking integration and triangulation across both methods. Such an approach helped us to describe statistically the overt behaviour of urban spaces users and obtain accumulative generalisations about the experience of public spaces, people evaluation, community well-being and attitudes towards the outdoor environment in different case studies as a whole.

Moreover, this approach has enabled us to examine the influence of the built environment on people's well being in the different neighbourhoods under investigation, identifying differences and similarities and elucidate how public space development processes are understood by the users, providers and regulators, what it means to them and how they conceive it. Throughout the study, analysis consisted essentially of sorting and organizing data to develop a holistic conception of public space provision within this context. Comparison of public space patterns across the case studies (three neighbourhoods) led to the identification of contrasts, commonalities and similarities. The results obtained provide decision-makers with fundamental information when formalizing development strategies for spatial development in the coming decades, thereby succeeding in measuring the potential effect of implementing the proposed growth-management policy. This chapter prepares the way for the presentation of research findings in subsequent chapters.

Chapter Five
Regulating Saudi cities and the
challenge of Jeddah urbanisation

Chapter 5

Regulating Saudi cities and the challenges of Jeddah urbanization

5.1 Introduction

In Saudi cities, there has been growing concern about suburban sprawl. What had been a balanced growth strategy quickly disintegrated when these suburban developments grew more intensive, leading to higher demands on public amenities such as public space. The aim of this chapter is to provide a brief review of the institutional and spatial strategies that have been proposed and utilized in order to regulate urban growth and public space in Jeddah with the aim to assess their strength and weaknesses. The chapter is organized into four major sections. The first illustrates the challenge of the urbanisation process in Saudi Arabia. The second sheds light on the public policies and physical plans adopted for regulating Jeddah urban growth. The third section focuses on the recent administrative reform process and the current strategies adopted by the government for improvement in management of urban development. The fourth briefly illustrates the growth pattern of Jeddah's population, highlighting how this pattern has transformed the social and spatial aspects of the city and created turmoil in the lives of families and the nature of social relations. In this section we will also discuss to what extent the heterogeneity of the population in Jeddah raised questions of cultural identity, environmental quality and the quality of the public realm. In the final section, we will afford an insight for those who are concerned with how Jeddah can be organised and managed in order to achieve success most easily with the long term opportunities and challenges that it faces.

5.2 Urbanisation process in Saudi cities

The impacts of urbanising processes worldwide are becoming increasingly recognised at national and international levels. The demands of growing populations in cities and the

problems caused by their rapid growth raise a number of issues that have been addressed internationally. The 2006 State of the World's Cities Report (UN-Habitat 2006), for example, shows that urban growth is synonymous with the emergence of a set of urban issues. These include: unbalanced urban expansion; proliferation of scattered settlements, unregulated population growth; insufficiently funded public services; increasing social differences and severe ecological problems. Accordingly many international conferences have stressed the importance of balance in addressing these problems to ensure effective long-term urban growth development policies (UN-Habitat 2002; UN-Habitat 2006). The growing concern of urban growth has also forced many cities in Europe and the USA to employ innovative planning approaches such as the idea of 'smart growth policies' and 'new urbanism planning criteria' to encourage compact development in order to avoid the excessive impact of urban growth (NCPPR 2002; Frenkel 2004).

The urbanization of Saudi Arabia is one of the world's fastest. The existing major urban centres of Riyadh, Jeddah, Madinah, Dhahran, and Makkah have experienced dramatic growth since 1973. According to the recent National Population Census of 2010, the population has risen from 22.7 million in 2004 to 27,14 million by the year 2010 with a 3% annual rate of growth (CDS 2010; MN 2010). According to some estimates, the population may continue to increase to reach 39 million by the year 2020. The urban percentage of the national population reached 87% in 2010 (UN-Habitat 2011). The gross density of Saudi cities is generally low, ranging from 12 to 29 persons per hectare (MOMRA 2001). The decline of urban population densities means that the share of the population living in low density suburbs is increasing. Such urban sprawl will force municipalities to expand their jurisdictional boundaries to accommodate this suburban population growth. The ineffectiveness of policy regimes and management to guide such an urban expansion will lead to more costly provision of public infrastructure networks (Angel 2007). This may in turn make balanced urban growth a challenge for public sector authorities at all levels.

In Saudi Arabia, according to many observers (e.g. Garba 2004), it seems that the spatial expansion of cities has been accelerated by the government's public initiatives for urban development. A striking example of similar problems of policy agendas in the last four decades are the land grant policy and interest-free loans. The adoption of these policies resulted in a massive expansion of suburban areas in major cities such as Riyadh and

Jeddah. Through these policies, hundreds of thousands of residential plots were distributed free of cost to the general public. This in turn has stimulated the rapid expansion of the road network and utilities with high financial outlays (Al-Hathloul and Mughal 2004). From the time of the final establishment of Saudi Arabia (1932) onward, most political and administrative leaders considered urban growth essential for the economic and social well-being of the local communities. Officials initially managed this growth by expanding the boundary of the local municipalities. They encouraged population and business expansion as well as other components of urban developments. Broadly speaking, the impact of urbanisation has been perceived by some social commentators as quite positive, because government development policies have been able to achieve a largely first rate infrastructure and raise standards of living in cities in a short period of time (Montgomery 1986; Daghistani 1991).

Although fast rate of urban growth continues to be a primary national objective, and many actors support its efforts, several urban specialists and social commentators warn of damage and raise the question of environmental, social and economic issues that limit its effectiveness. Accordingly, over the last two to three decades a strong sentiment has developed against the phenomenon of urban growth. There is a perception that urban growth is unbalanced and not proceeding smoothly. A substantial body of opinion, however, regards urban growth as highly undesirable and views these policies as self-defeating because they fail to allocate resources in a socially desirable manner (Eben-Saleh 2001; Garba 2004). Such commentators have pointed out the distorted nature of urbanisation which has caused the same type of problems that have become central political issues in most developing countries. These include the spread of slums, segregation, neighbourhood degradation, breakdown of services, increased demand for housing, road traffic congestion, illegal development, the huge cost of meeting the needs for the urban infrastructure of the new city dwellers, and deterioration in the adjacent rural areas and the environmentally unique coastal locations.

Scholars and policy analysts such as Al-Hathloul (1981) provide elaborated overviews of the sprawl debate, indicating that the rapid growth of Saudi cities in the last four to five decades meant leapfrog development, shortage of affordable housing, inadequate urban services, overly long commuting times, traffic congestion, and air pollution. They also

argue that the allocation of land by government and the private sector caused the development of a speculative property market in the residential areas in outskirts of the city. This, in turn, pushed up the cost of land in the city. Fragmented suburban residential areas were deemed one factor that held back urban regeneration for the city centres. The heterogeneity of urban residences and the spread of population to the outskirts of the city weakens social bonds and increases the crime rate (Eben-Saleh 2001). The issue of excessive urban growth has recently been placed on the national agenda, which proposes the rationalization of urban development and the reduction of public expenditure.

In general, the issue of excessive urban growth can be attributed to the inherited limitations of both conventional urban planning practices and public actions for regulating urban development and service delivery. In this regard, It has been indicated (i.e. Daghistani 1991) that the lack of appropriate and coordinated policy guidance and the absence of collaboration among governmental units has left the public sector authorities powerless to effectively perform the duties assign to them. Moreover, the local municipalities seemed poorly equipped to deal with the issues of urbanization, and the expansion of the city administrative jurisdiction required a greater degree of control over the area than the local authority was able to exercise.

In this context, one would argue that the principal sentiment against pursuing the urbanisation process and encouraging sprawling development has developed because of the weakness in the local management and the limited financial and legal power to cope with huge waves of immigration and massive urban expansion. Thus, it is not urban growth itself which is the problem, but rather the rapid rate of growth, which outpaces the institutional, administrative and financial capacity to cope with it. Since sustained rapid growth is inevitable and not subject to our common will, and since the cost of unchecked urban expansion is so high, the basic question decision makers and scholars should pose is how they can assist local authorities in the pursuit of long-term objectives and be actively prepared to face the potential impact of oncoming urban expansion. Since sustained rapid growth is inevitable, it is a mistake to place our hopes on the outcome of a policy that promises to contain urban growth in major urban centres in the Kingdom or limit rural-urban migration. Since the cost of unchecked urban expansion is so high, the question we

need to address is how may growth management policies and instruments be made more effective?

5.3 Jeddah Urbanization

Juddah, Jiddah, Jeddah, and Jaddah are four variations of the name for one of the most ancient cities in Arabia with its roots traditionally said to go back as far as Adam and Eve. There are two explanations for the etymology of the name. One is that in the Arabic language it means 'seashore' or 'the road between water and mountain', since Jeddah is located along the coast of the Red Sea and is considered Saudi Arabia's most important commercial port. In this context the inference could be that Jeddah is the main gateway to the twin shrines Makkah and Madinah. The more common account has it that the name is derived from jaddah, the Arabic word for 'grandmother', the 'Ancestor of Women'. According to Arab historical belief the tomb of Eve, considered the mother of mankind, is located in Jeddah (Al-Mujawer 1954).

5.3.1 The evolution of Jeddah

What is certain is that Jeddah has been in existence for more than 2200 years, almost eight centuries before the birth of Islam (Al-Ansari 1980). Ali (1970: 284) says that it is believed that the first settlement in Jeddah was established as a small fishing and trading village for a group of Arab anglers, who used to harbour there after long fishing and then it was inhabited by the Qudaah tribe. It is believed that the city owes its commercial foundations to Caliph Uthman (the third khalifah or successor of the prophet) who in the year 646 AD made it the port for pilgrims instead of the old port of Al-Shuaibah (about 40 km to the south of Jeddah). With the spread of Islam, the function of Jeddah as the main gate for those travelling to the holy cities of Makkah and Madinah was strengthened, as the influx of pilgrims grew. At the beginning of the thirteenth century, Jeddah became a point of interest of the Mamluk, sultans of Egypt who became interested in the holy city of Makkah and sought to establish control over the Red sea ports. The Mamluk sultans took an increasing interest in the town until they actually garrisoned the Hijaz region in 1425, placing Jeddah under their political and economic superintendence, instead of the Ashraf of Makkah.

By the beginning of the sixteenth century, Mamluk control of Jeddah was challenged by the Portuguese, whose military presence became very conspicuous in the Eastern waters around 1502 AD. After the fall of the Mamluk state in 1517, Jeddah came under the control of the Ottoman Empire. During the first half of the Nineteenth century, the British and the French started to show interest in the Hijaz region in general and Jeddah in particular. The outbreak of World War I compelled the British to assist the Hashemite Sharif of Makkah, Hussein Ibn Ali, who proclaimed his independence from the Turks who attacked Jeddah in June 1916. After one week of the attack, the Turks surrendered the town, ending the Ottoman domination of Jeddah which had lasted for four centuries. In the same period in central Arabia, King Abdul-Aziz Bin Saud established control over the Najd and al-Hasa regions of the Arabian Peninsula, and then moved west to capture the Hijaz region in 1925. This victory put an end to the Hashemite authority over Jeddah, which had lasted for about one decade. Consequently, Jeddah and other cities in the Hijaz region were incorporated into Saudi Arabia (Ibn-Jubair 1964; Daghistani 1993).

5.3.2 Urbanisation in Jeddah before the removal of the city wall in 1947

As indicated above Jeddah served as a diplomatic, commercial, distribution and service centre for a long period of history. The social order in the city was homeostatic, adhering to the rules of the Islamic religion and Arab custom. By the time of the final establishment of Saudi Arabia (1932) and the unification of the Hijaz region, and up to the destruction of the city wall (1947), the functions, character and size of the city had remained virtually unchanged for centuries (**Figure 5-1**).



Fig 5-1: A view of Jeddah in 1940. Source: Pesce, A. (1977:112): *Jeddah Portrait of an Arabian City*, London, Falcon Press.

At that time the ability of the government to intervene in regulating urban growth throughout cities and towns all over the country was constrained by an absence of an institutional framework for both local and national governance and a lack of financial and human resources (Alkhedheiri 2002). The fundamental challenge for the government during the 1940s was how to improve living conditions. There was also a need to develop Jeddah as the western gate for the country, giving the city a role of national importance. Bokhari (1978) provides an elaborated analysis of the historical formation of Jeddah. In 1923 King Abdul-Aziz ordered the formation of a local council from 12 elected members to help and give advice for the management of Makkah city. And then in 1926 the King ordered the establishment of Municipality Governorate of Directive for Makkah and two of its suburban areas: Muna and al-Shohada and the establishment of Rural Councils to take care of the tribal and rural affairs. In 1930, the king ordered the establishment of a representative council of deputies. This council consisted of two units: the Presidency of the Council of Deputies and the Ministry of Interior (Aziz-Alrahman 1985). In 1937, a Royal decree was enacted aimed to reinstate the Makkah Municipality and superseded the system of the Municipality Governorate of 1926. This decree continued to be active until the Law of Villages and Municipalities was enacted in 1977 (Abdulaal 2006).

The status of the Makkah Municipality, as applied to other Municipalities in the Kingdom under the Royal Order of 1937 was the seminal step which stimulates the establishment of other municipalities in Saudi Arabia. It was promulgated by the establishment of local councils in the cities of Makkah, Madinah and Jeddah and stipulated the establishment of municipal. Accordingly, lists of duties were assigned to the municipalities (Aziz-Alrahman 1985). Among these responsibilities were the supervision of the town development, monitoring general housing conditions, regulating the extension and widening of street networks, urban beautification and creation of public space, executing work needed for the enhancement of service delivery, and improving the standards of living (Daghistani 1991). Generally speaking, during this stage (1940s), which can be called the establishment stage, the Kingdom witnessed the setting up of local and rural councils and a network of municipalities. Urban legislation was issued in the form of a law ratified by the King and the Council of Deputies. This enabled the central authority to issue directives to be executed by local authorities. There was an acute shortage of housing and public amenities and infrastructure in most cities of the Kingdom. The scarcity of financial and human

resources limited the growth of the urban centres and hindered the government in taking a significant role to improve standards of living (Daghistani 1991; Alkhedheiri 2002).

5.3.3 Jeddah after the destruction of the city wall (1947-1970)

In 1947, the fortified wall of Jeddah city was removed. The demolishing of the wall coincided with the beginning of Saudi Arabia's prosperity and is considered to be the first major turning point in the modern phase of the city's growth. In the subsequent years, with the opening of project Ain Alaziziah (piping of fresh water from wells in Wadi Fatimah, 65 km to the east, to Jeddah), it took a few years for the city to grow as a result of a dramatic increase in the city population. After the Second World War, there was a period of political tension at the start of the Cold war, and struggles over the control of oil. At the same time, the western democracies sought to spread internationally the principles of human rights, representative government, and the Westphalian state concept in relation to international law. During the same period the Kingdom witnessed a sudden rise in its oil revenues and a dramatic increase in its urban population. In order to establish modernised institutional frameworks for the central government planning apparatus, a new era was inaugurated in 1953 with a reform process which aimed to establish the central authorities and to regulate both the interior and exterior affairs of the country.

In the succeeding years, especially with the wave of urbanization and the massive growth of population, the improvement in government resources led to a dramatic increase in construction throughout the western region (Hijaz) and the middle region (Najd) because a high proportion of the Kingdom's population lived there (Daghistani 1991). From that time, the dynamic of the urban growth of Jeddah changed as the city expanded. The city was allowed to expand through the emergence of both formal and informal settlements outside the city walls. Some of the traditional town was gradually transformed in line with the demands of urbanization. Accordingly, the estimated figure of 30,000 for the population of the city in 1932 increased to 147,000 in 1962 with an annual growth rate of 5.44%. This rate of growth exploded to 11.91% in the next decade, leading to 404,650 in 1971, with a total increase in the built-up area figure of 1700 hectares (Jeddah-Municipality 2004).

As a result of the institutional reform process of 1953, several governmental ministries and agencies were established. Among these agencies the Directorate of Municipality was created in the Ministry of Interior. In 1962 the Directorate was elevated to the Department of Municipal Affairs and then to Deputy in Ministry for Municipal Affairs in the Ministry of Interior, charged with developing municipal services. At the same time, a Supreme Planning Board was also established, charged with the responsibility of planning and coordinating economic development. Generally, development control was reliant on weak governmental bylaws passed during the time of structural adjustment. Urban decisions were made in an ad hoc and short term manner, limited to annual budgeting and mainly concentrated on addressing visible problems such as the construction of governmental buildings and internal city roads without thinking of long-term functioning of the city (Garba 2004).

The stark reality of the situation was exacerbated by the absence of coordinated actions on the part of public sector agencies in charge of service delivery. This in turn necessitated further reform in the institutional framework and organisational structures of governance at both central and local levels. In fact, the failure of the Supreme Planning Board to estimate the correct magnitude for development policies put the decision makers – the central authority officials - in the position of having to guess the expected outcomes in order to approve a policy. This, in turn, led to the national policy and economic planning, which has remained solely abstract, general and lacking a legal mandate over other government jurisdictions both at the national and local level.

Additionally, the physical planning also remains an exclusive right of the central state planning departments, regardless of their location within the government ministries. Physical planning, therefore, remains disconnected from the national context. This can be attributed to the absence of planning and development institutions at both the local and regional levels that are capable of establishing a link between economic planning at the national level and physical planning at the local. It also can be attributed to the fact that all governmental agencies which are in charge of the construction of public utilities and community facilities at the local level are directed by their respective central ministries with very little local level co-ordination. These agencies not only have their own independent programme and plans, but also employ different data-bases for their

operational conflicts (Bokhari 1978; Aziz-Alrahman 1985; Anis-ur-Rahmaan 2003; Garba 2004).

The weakness in the urban planning and management system evident above existed in the period prior to the creation of what has come to be known as the National Development Plan and the local master plans. These may be set against earlier mistakes and take on an ideal form against which to benchmark them. It will be useful to look in some detail at how these plans came about. The uncertain situation described above led to the involvement of international experts to reassess and restructure the organisation of government agencies and institutions. Amongst the recommendations of the international experts were the creation of the Central Planning Organisation and the incorporation of the idea of Five Year Development Planning. The First Five Year Development Plan (1970-75) was approved by the Council of Ministers in 1969. The plan identified key national development objectives and established targets for the different sectors of the national economy such as municipal services. The assistance of international experts also marked the beginning of local planning practices and led to the upgrading of urban administrations which were extremely poorly staffed. Generally speaking, at this stage the major challenge for the government was how to establish an institutional framework and a legal foundation to manage urban expansion and the growing demands for public services and community facilities.

5.3.4 The stage of the Master Plan approach (1970-1980)

In Jeddah, in an attempt to secure early amelioration of the most serious urban problems such as the acute shortage of affordable housing and public amenities, traffic congestion, the unbalanced urban expansion and the proliferation of informal settlements, there were some attempts in the 1950s to produce a master plan for the city though this was not a serious attempt at a comprehensive master plan. The lack of native expertise led the government in 1959 to seek the help of the United Nation in preparing the first master plan. The first master plan was produced between 1959 and 1962 by Dr. Abdul-Rahman Makhlof who was appointed by the United Nation as resident expert in city planning (**Figure 5-2**).

In 1970, the Kingdom was divided into five broad regions. International consultants were hired to prepare the ‘first generation’ of regional plans. In 1971, after the approval of the First Five Years National Development Plan (1970-75), the Ministry of Interior, Department of Municipal Affairs appointed international consultants Robert Matthew, Johnson- Marshall & Partners to prepare a comprehensive master plan for Jeddah that could be utilized as an official tool for guiding different sectoral programmes. The master plan was completed in 1973 and was supposed to direct city development up till 1991 (**Figure 5-3**). A principle objective of the master plan was to subdivide the city into various districts separated by arterial grid streets in order to provide formal access to land and easement for infrastructures. The implementation of the master plan objectives was facilitated by a set of planning regulations framed under zoning ordinances and land subdivision codes (Aziz-Alrahman 1985).

In 1975, a new Municipal System Act was passed, by which the Ministry of Municipal and Rural Affairs (MOMRA) was established as well as other central government planning apparatus. The structure consisted of two tiers: the higher tier of planning was national development planning, which is more economically oriented by the Ministry of Planning (MOP). The lower tier was spatial planning, which was undertaken by MOMRA, which was had two functions: to control of spatial planning at the national, regional and local levels in and to provide and regulate infrastructure.

Accordingly, the basic structure for local and national governance in the country was expressed with greater clarity. Previous experience illustrates that, although there were two tiers, and although MOMRA is entrusted with spatial planning responsibilities, these responsibilities were sometimes moved between the tiers. For example, at the beginning of the 1990s there was confusion over who was in charge of preparing the National Spatial Strategy (NSS). Finally, MOMRA took control of the project of drawing it up instead of MOP, despite the fact that the strategy was a mixture of economic and spatial planning. This happened because the minister in charge of MOMRA enjoyed greater access to the highest levels of government, and MOMRA was thereby greatly strengthened in its struggle for this responsibility with other central government departments.

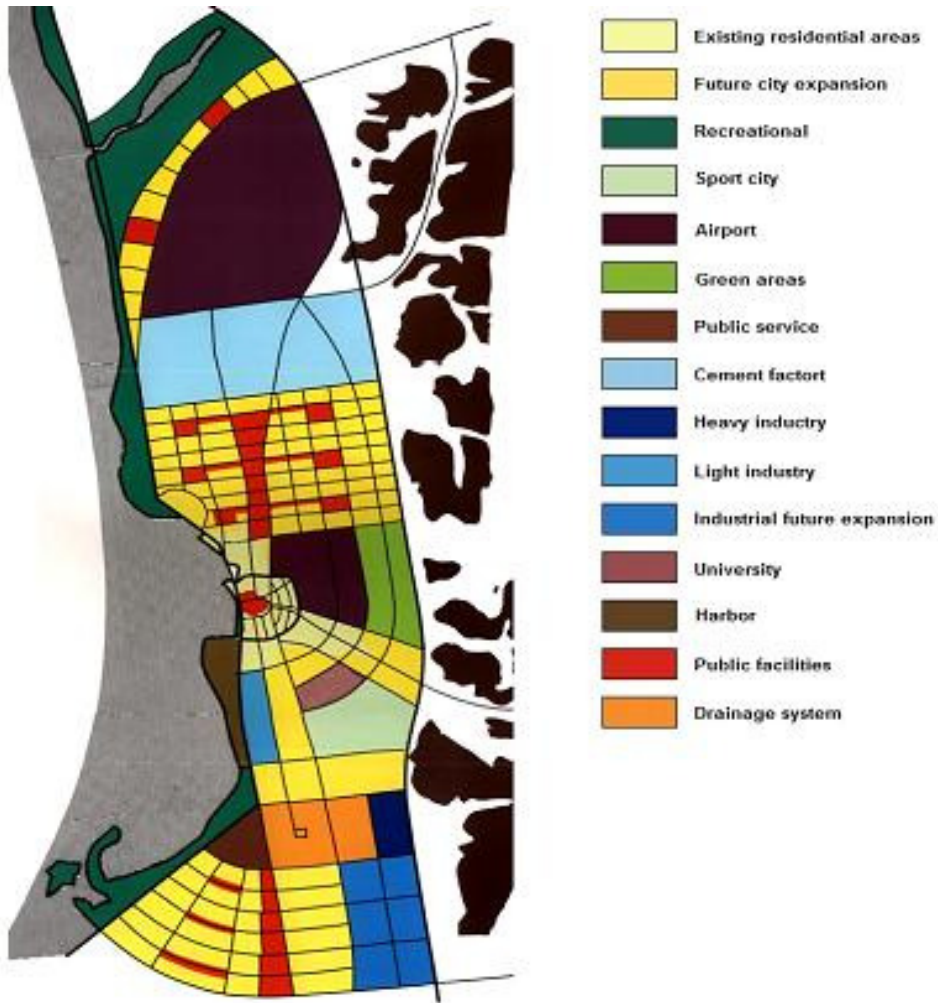


Fig 5-2: Jeddah master plan of 1964
Source: Jeddah Municipality 2005.

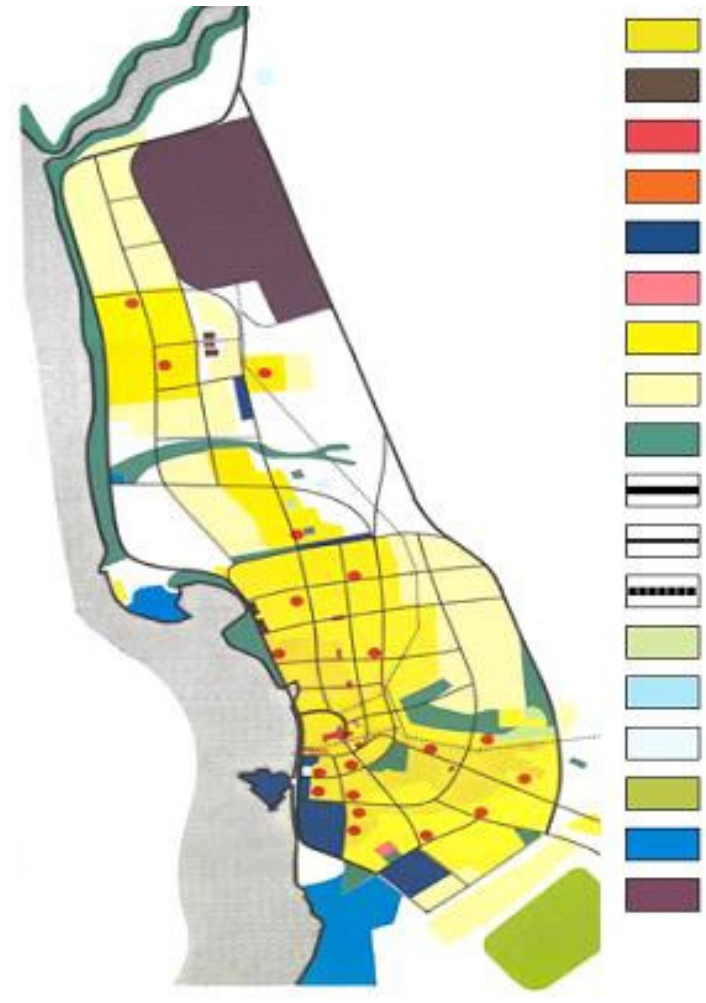


Fig 5-3: Jeddah Master Plan of 1973
Source: Jeddah Municipality, 2005.

By 1977, the national government turned its attention to supporting the municipalities' reform programme and enacted the Law of Villages and Municipalities. This act annulled the previous Law of Municipal Governorate of 1937 and promulgated the present law governing the administrative and financial structure of municipalities. The objective of this reform was to promote financial and administrative decentralization and greater autonomy of action to fragile municipalities (Alkhedheiri 2002). In accordance with the reform process of 1977, the organisational structure of Jeddah Municipality was revised in an effort to upgrade its performance (this will be explained in more details in chapter 8). With the new reform process considerable discretion and more responsibilities were assigned to the municipality. Accordingly, the Mayor reports directly to the Minister rather than through central ministry organisation and the municipality becomes directly responsible for the preparation of physical plans, the formulation of policies, the supervision of project design, the processing of contracts, and all aspects of project implementation. However, the capital budget is subject to the Minister's approval (Daghistani, 1991).

It should be noted that although the new reform process of 1977 aimed to promote administrative decentralization, the role of local municipalities in terms of physical planning had been limited to land subdivision and necessary approvals. Cities did not engage in physical master planning in the full meaning of the word. This has remained within MOMRA and the system of development control in the Jeddah Municipality remained mainly an administrative process such as granting permits and approving the subdivision of land. Moreover, the law confers to the Minister of MOMRA to establish the Municipal Council for a term of four years. Municipal Councils are made up of an equal number of elected and appointed members while decisions of the council are passed by the majority of votes, the final endorsement is the responsibility of the Minister of MOMRA. Although the law calls for the establishment of a municipal council as part of the municipal system to run cities, this has not been put into practice in Jeddah nor in other Saudi cities. (This will be discussed in more detail later in section 3.6). In place of the Municipal Council, however, a supreme steering committee has been established. This committee was composed of representatives of various government agencies involved in the development of the city and is chaired by the Mayor. Despite the establishment of this committee, their role in directing urban land policy was still limited and they did not have the right to

oppose development as long as it is accord with the physical master planning done by the central state departments at MOMRA.

Generally speaking, the establishment of MOMRA and its corollary statute, the Law of Villages and Municipalities, amounts to a mere transfer of urban planning and management from one branch of the bureaucracy to another. The promotion of financial and administrative decentralization was true in the sense that a new specialized ministerial agency had become solely specialized in the development of national urban centres and other settlements. But greater autonomy for municipalities did not become a reality as they, together with local governmental agencies, continued to rely on the central Ministry of Finance for their annual budgets. More to the point, spatial planning continued to be isolated from national economic planning. It should be noted that the inception of MOMRA further increased the centralized role of national government, intensified the process of creating homologous urban forms for contemporary Saudi cities (as master planning has become a hermetically sealed central process involving bureaucrats, technocrats and planners), and substituted the creation of local governance with an extremely centralized bureaucracy. Therefore, the role of public participation was eclipsed. This hindered the ability of local municipalities to have a positive impact on policy implementation and address proactively the problems of urban growth.

In 1977, the office of Ser Jackson International/Saudconsult (SJI/SC) was requested by MOMRA to review the previous master plan of Jeddah and to prepare action master plans at various scales that would illustrate the actual locations of the proposed land uses and public amenities network. The revised master plan was approved by the Council of Ministers in 1981 and adopted as official policy for regulating the city's development (**Figure 5-4**). The revised master plan promoted the application of the arterial gridiron pattern for street networks and land subdivisions throughout the city. It allowed for a range of uses and zoning regulations and also suggested the reduction of housing densities in the informal settlements through widening the existing street networks and regulating development patterns in the emerging formal residential areas (Montgomery 1986). During this stage (1970-80), the city had undergone wide-spread urban sprawl. As consequences of rapid urban growth Jeddah witnessed a substantial flow of new immigrants to the suburbs where the cost of living is more affordable for newcomers. Consequently, the population of

the city of 404,650 in 1971 increased to 862,362 in 1978. As a result, the spatial coverage of the city expanded dramatically to an area of over 367 square kilometres by 1987 (Jeddah-Municipality 2004).

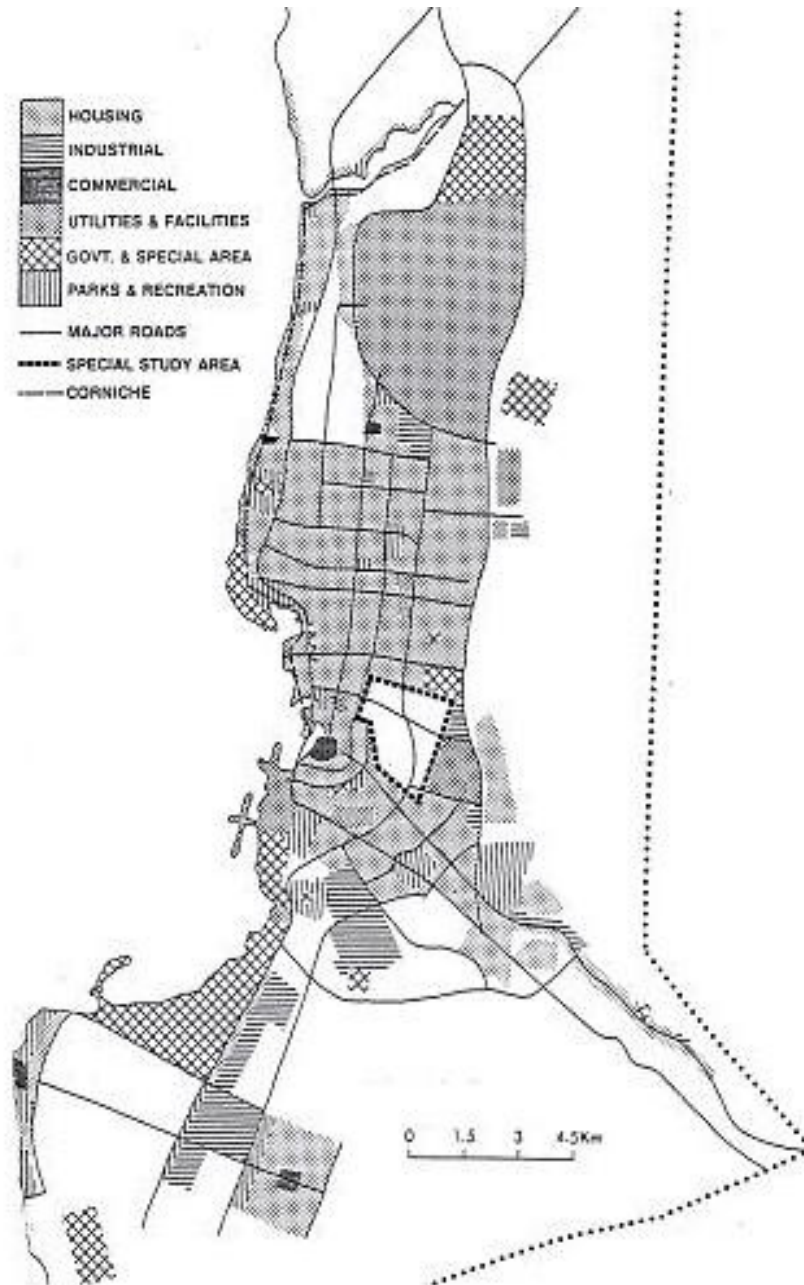


Figure 5-4: Jeddah Master Directive Plan of 1981. Source: MOMRA, Jeddah Action Master Plans, 1981

In response to the lack and degraded quality of service delivery and in an attempt to ease the shortage and high cost of housing, various policies were employed which were mainly based on the incentive regulatory approach. Among the policies is the granting of thousands of serviced lots to citizen. This tendency has further been intensified by the governmental policy to grant long-term interest free loans and the establishment of a Real Estate Development Fund (REDF) in 1974 which started effectively granting interest-free loans to citizens in order to build homes from mid 1975 onward. Consequently, thousands of houses and apartment buildings were constructed (Aziz-Alrahman 1985).

It is particularly true that the severe housing shortage experienced during the early phase of economic development (1970-1975) prompted the government to formulate an aggressive supply-oriented housing strategy during the Second and Third Plans, creating a housing surplus during the Fourth Development Plan period (1980-1985). Most of the housing projects remain empty because a large proportion of them were built speculatively when demand was high and landlords were reluctant to reduce rents and sale values (Montgomery 1986). Additionally, this can be attributed to the substantial decrease in the number of foreign workers who assisted in building the basic infrastructure of the country and the transference of the residency of ambassadors and diplomats from Jeddah to Riyadh city.

In terms of the physical planning and policy instruments for urban growth management, the continued expansion of the city led to a massive building boom and the provision of various community facilities and public amenities. The publicly financed infrastructure for new developments (such as the construction of major traffic arteries) provides various developer incentives for expanding housing projects and the land subdivisions which in turn encourage urban sprawl and an undesirable leap-frog pattern of development (Anis-ur-Rahmaan 2003). It should be noted that although the approval of the 'First Generation' of Regional Plans and the Jeddah master plans were considered the most important steps taken in planning and regulating the city's growth, they lacked the overall perspective of the urbanization process at a national level (Alkhedheiri 2002). This in turn led to imperfect buildings being constructed in inappropriate locations and the creation of undesirable urban sprawl such as the informal housing development in hilly areas to the east of the city which were designated at that time as areas located outside the city

administrative boundary. Moreover, it also led to widespread subdivisions and undeveloped land as the owners speculated for higher future values. Additionally, the lack of planning enforcement resulted in non-adherence of much of the urban development to the proposed development policies. This can be easily observed in the rapid construction of shopping centres and the dispersion of retail ribbon development (Aziz-Alrahman 1985; Montgomery 1986; Daghistani 1993).

5.3.5 The stage of the Regional Development Plans (1980-1990)

Various attempts to coordinate the fragmented efforts of individual municipalities were initiated in the beginning of the 1980's at a national level. There was an emphasis on regional development which became necessary because of the increasing social, economical and environmental costs of sprawl. Therefore, the Fourth Five Year National Development Plan (1985-1990) recognized the incompatibility of the objectives of the national economic policy and those of regional development. Accordingly, regional planning was viewed as a public policy instrument that could contribute to the resolution of the potential conflict between national and local objectives (Anis-ur-Rahmaan 2003).

As indicated earlier, the reform process of 1975 established the basic structure for local and national governance in the Kingdom. This structure consists of two tiers. While the MOP is more concerned with the global impact of the national economy (the higher tier) and less with its spatial implications, MOMRA is concerned with urban and rural issues and producing physical plans (the lower tier). Although the creation of MOMRA and MOP helped to define the responsibilities of the two ministries in charge of planning, centralization prevented them from improving the basic structure of the local and national governance in the country. The lack of clear guidance for policy implementation and the uncoordinated activities by different agencies further contributed to this problem. Additionally, urban and regional planning remains disconnected from the national context. This can be attributed to the absence of an effective urban planning system and a realistic development management that tie together the two tiers of planning. This meant the relationship between the two organisations in charge of planning in the Kingdom was unclear and difficult to identify. This situation led, in turn, to the creation of the 'Second Generation' of regional development plans. These plans were expected to be more

empirically-based and development oriented than their predecessors, which were prepared in 1970 (Alkhedheiri 2002).

In 1985, in a reaction to the excessive spatial growth of cities, the Council of Ministers ordered a two year freeze on all urban expansion in the Kingdom and mandated MOMRA to prepare plans for urban growth boundaries. The principal objective of this policy was to designate future phases of development each 10 years to limit the supply of land for residential development by banning development in designated areas in the outskirts of cities. In accordance with the imposition of such a decree, Al-Soumat Engineering Services was requested by MOMRA to revise the previous Jeddah master plan and to prepare a comprehensive development plan that would guide the growth of city metropolitan area until 2025. The revised Jeddah master plan which was approved in 1987 aimed to impose development caps, but the timing of development was linked to the schedule timing of public improvement needed for development over the next twenty years, thus promoting infill and redevelopment (Alkhedheiri 2002). In 1989 the Council of Ministers approved the delineation of urban growth boundaries (UGB) for 100 Saudi urban centre centres such as Jeddah for the next 50 years in phases that conformed to national development plans, making it obligatory that municipal services will not be provided to subdivisions that are located within their respective development phases (Anis-ur-Rahmaan 2003).

The UGBs project was a technical exercise in which MOMRA in its preparation relied heavily on its national planners and international consultants. In order to encourage the involvement of local municipalities in the preparation of these plans, a detailed and comprehensive manual produced by MOMRA and their consultants which intended to provide technical assistance to the unqualified and inexperienced staff of individual municipalities. Al-Hathloul and Mughal (2004) provide an elaborated analysis of the operation of UGB in the Kingdom. Some commentators (e.g. Anis-ur-Rahmaan 2003) claim that the UGBs imposed land-use plans at the city structural level which resulted in creating a homologous pattern of Saudi cities' future growth rather than leaving such future growth to piecemeal initiatives championed by local participation at the municipal level. Moreover, they indicate that its imposition was too stringent and has great potential for misuse, needlessly restricting the size of the city and is responsible for excessive escalation in land value and house price and an undesirable increase in density. Others (i.e. Al-

Hathloul and Mughal 2004) affirm that this policy could retain the potential for effectively limiting the city size and rationalizing urban development in the long run if it is adopted with greater care. This controversy indicates that there is no way to tell whether an urban growth boundary is set appropriately without focusing on the underlying forces that lead to urban sprawl.

Hypothetically speaking, the goal of the UGBs was to slow down land speculation at the periphery. This goal could have been easily achieved by carefully adopting land transfer policy that would permit the state to impose penalties on underdeveloped lands. This would allow the system of land distribution to operate according to economic efficiency and equity measures rather than by yielding to influential land owners, most of whom were part of the established bureaucracy. Therefore, it is important to gain an understanding of the fundamental forces that might result in excessive spatial growth. Among these forces were governmental intervention, the land market economy, popular attitudes, and the prevailing administrative and political system. It is also important to understand the nature of effective remedies that regulate urban growth and allocate resources in a socially desirable manner (Brueckner 2000).

In terms of the local management structure in Jeddah, the technical and institutional capability of the Municipality apparently improved the limited legal autonomy. However, the absence of qualified planning and development institutions weakened the role of the Municipality in either the implementation of master plans or in the enforcement of urban growth boundaries programme. The limited municipal authority and the lack of sufficient skilled staff not only stifled the municipality staff in implementing these development policies but also hindered them in effectively directing private sector decisions regarding the placement of urban development as designated in the physical plans. As will be discussed in greater details in Chapter 7, this in turn produced leapfrog and low density development (Anis-ur-Rahmaan 2003; Al-Hathloul and Mughal 2004). That is to say, the persistent problem of lacking sufficient skilled staff attests to the failure of the centralized planning system by MOMRA, and calls for the adoption of genuine decentralization in the form of local governance. However, because the imposition of the UGBs requires an extension of existing zoning powers, the planners of the Municipality have been forced to move away from conventional land use to adopt various directives and administrative rules

for aggressively controlling urban growth boundaries. For example, to approve a new land subdivision in the suburban areas of the city, the municipality officials based their decisions on the new administrative rules which are enacted from the central authority for the implementation of UGBs. They are doing this instead of referring to the zoning regulations contained in the technical reports of the directive master plan of 1981. Accordingly, the city municipality officials became more powerful, forcing developers and individuals to adjust to the improvement in urban development according to the recommended urban policies and in accordance with new directives. Public power is exercised directly through the map of UGBs and the related directives of MOMRA.

Despite the administrative reform processes the local authorities continue functioning as agents for central authority rather than as independent organizations (Daghistani 1993). It must be noted that the involvement of the officials and professionals in Jeddah Municipality in the preparation of the UGBs enabled them to gain very useful training. Perhaps the most significant advantage might be the substantial training for the municipality official and planners by the central group of experts who gave them the technical assistance and explained to them how they should do physical planning, estimate the future expansion of the city and plan for that growth. This experience should also be quite beneficial in promoting urban management competence and in the establishment of a cohesive management strategy to urban development among officials of different public sectors units (Al-Hathloul and Mughal 2004). Although the municipality staffs were actively involved in the preparation process, there was no direct public participation in identifying priority actions that would have increased public acceptability of whatever policy was adapted to regulate urban growth, thereby resolving some of the difficulties being experienced by the municipalities in the implementation stage. This could be attributed to some drawbacks in the institutional framework, namely the absence of such legal institutions that allowed public participation in decision making and implementation process at that time (Garba 2004; Al-Hathloul and Mughal 2004).

In summary, during this stage mixed policy instruments and managerial efforts were employed to regulate the city's growth. Weakness in the local authority's organizational arrangements prevented them from coping with huge waves of immigration and migration as well as massive urban expansion. The expansion of the city administrative jurisdiction

required a greater degree of control over the area than the municipality was able to exercise. Regarding the spatial planning practices, we should note that the rigidity of the comprehensive planning approach and the lack of inter-agency coordination led to the imposition of UGB as a management policy. This policy did not help create a balanced urban growth. Instead, it created more problems such as the lack of affordable housing, inflated land prices, and greater conflict and confusion for the municipality staff.

5.3.6 The stage of Structure Planning Approach (1990-date)

The recent emphasis on regional disparities in development prospects which caused the problem of underutilisation of urban infrastructure in most cities in the country stimulated the preparation of the National Spatial Strategy (NSS) during the period (1986-1990) and the structure plans for Saudi cities by MOMRA in collaboration with the United Nations Team of Experts. The NSS suggested a system of primary, secondary, and tertiary development corridors that should be 'efficiency-equity compatible as it could harness the positive aspects of the fast growing areas' such as Jeddah city (Anis-ur-Rahmaan 2003: 13). It also illustrates a desired pattern of population distribution and urban development. Generally speaking, the NSS and the strategic plans sought to address the issues of lop-sided urban growth as well as to provide a broader framework for subsequent local plans and to improve resource allocation (ibed)

In 1989 the Council of Ministers directed MOMRA to undertake the preparation structural plans for Saudi cities to guide their long-run growth. The concept of 'structure plan' which was initially developed by United Kingdom in 1968 is seen as a participatory management approach whereby urban development can be integrated with the physical planning approach and direct actions at local, regional, and national levels can be organised effectively (Alkhedheiri 2002). This concept has been incorporated for the planning of Saudi cities for its flexibility to adapt to the changing urban environment. For the preparation of structure plans, individual municipalities have been requested by MOMRA to take into account the redefining urban growth boundaries in order to cover much larger areas so that the problems are being faced in the implementation of boundaries can be addressed (Al-Hathloul and Abel-Rahman 2003). In 1995, *Al-Beeah Consultancy Office* was appointed to prepare a structure plan for Jeddah. The plan was mainly based on the

idea of sustainable development and intended to provide a broader spatial strategy for urban development within the city metropolitan area up till 2055 (**Figure 5-5**).

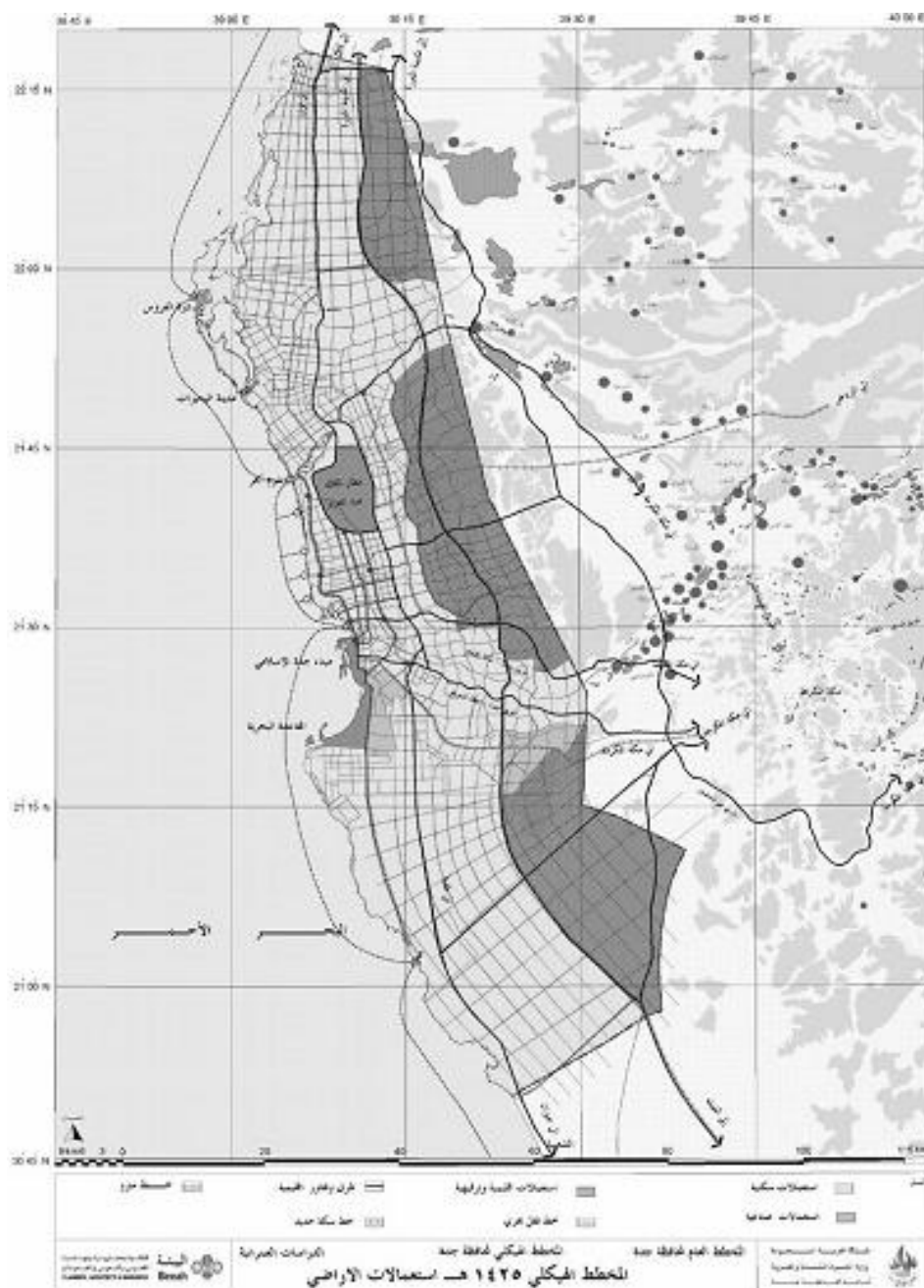


Fig 5-5: Jeddah Structure Plan 2005. Source: Jeddah, 2005.

To achieve the structure plan the consultant took account some of the key objectives of NSS (Jeddah-Municipality 2006). In preparing the structure plan, the Municipality of Jeddah and the assigned consultant encountered many problems because of the huge amount of programmes and effort such an approach requires, and the complexity of urban issues in the city. The delay in preparation has been partly due to a shortage of skilled planning staff, but also to a tendency to be too comprehensive, to collect too much data, and to involve too many committee stages and agencies in the planning process. In 2004, the consultant (Al-Beeah Consultancy Office) who prepared the structure plan was also requested to prepare a detailed local plan at scale 1:1000 in order to provide detailed zoning regulations for selected areas at local level. In early 2005, in an effort to unify the previous directives, developments and planning acts, the Municipality of Jeddah approved a new local plan which aimed to guide the city's growth up to 2055 in order to cope with the new pressure of development. The plan attempted to utilize more fully empty land in the city, while increasing the height of existing buildings. In doing so, it was responding to clear demands from the public. In general, both the structure plan and the local plans have provided a feed-back to the most recent zoning and subdivision regulations.

The principle objective of the structure plan is to control horizontal growth not only by defining UGB but also by employing an incentive policy technique which encourages urban fill and making urban fabric more compact. The underlying assumption of the plan is that compact development ensures efficient use of available land and maximizes profitability of urban values. It seems policy makers at all levels are tempted to increase the incentive for upgrading and redevelopment by permitting more building densities and height within existing residential areas and on undeveloped land.

It should be noted that if the decision to allow increasing densities was desirable and would maximize the return to real estate investment and ultimately would assist in shrinking the city size is correct, 'then the loss from lower housing consumption would be offset by other gain such as improved access to open space and lower traffic congestion, and consumers on balance would be better off' (Brueckner 2000:161). But if the criticism on urban sprawl is misguided with few benefits arising from increasing city density, such a decision may lead to a serious environmental deterioration, social problems and depressing the standard of living in the city. It should be noted that, although the aim of the NSS and other

regional and local plans is to provide feedback to each other, most of the regional plans which have been prepared recently for Jeddah city have not considered appropriately the framework of the NSS. This can be attributed to the fact that since the approval of the NSS by the council of Minister in 2001, there was no arrangements have been made for its review or updating to cope with the fast structural change in city developments which have changed the pattern of urbanization in Saudi Arabia (Anis-ur-Rahmaan 2003).

In summary, despite the fact it attempted to cover all possible aspects of city planning, the relationship between different dimensions of planning such as social, economic, spatial and so on still continue to be ambiguous and fragmented. The lack of clarity about how to integrate the spatial planning system with development management objectives continues to hinder the local authorities to effectively implement the designated public policies and define the responsibilities of different public sector units concerned with spatial planning and service delivery. With regard of the implementation of the recent local plan of 2006 which calls for an infill policy and making city development more compact, one may argue that adopting a new set of regulations means that the municipality needs to improve the capacity of its officials and professionals in terms of skills and knowledge in order to successfully implement the suggested new zoning regulations. In other words, the adaptation of new regulations or policy instruments requires more technical assistance to solve the expected conflicts, negotiations, complaints and confusions of the development process.

5.3.7 Recent institutional reform process

In 1992 the national government undertook an intuitional reform process. These efforts led to the establishment of the Consultative Council and Provincial System. While the main task of the Council is to provide recommendations to central authority on ways to improve the development process, the Provincial System (Council) aims at upgrading development management and preserves the rights of citizens at different regional and local levels (Alkhedheiri 2002). The changing nature of the political economy of public service provision led to the creation of what is widely known as the privatisation of public amenities. In 2003, the national government edged towards institutional reform process in order to promote service delivery through a privatisation process. In accordance with the

key objectives of the Seventh Five Year National Development Plan (2000-2005) and in an attempt to promote the overall urban management, the Council of Ministers issued a resolution that approved privatisation of certain utilities and services including some municipal services. In this context, privatisation has been used in its wider context that includes the adaptation of the concept 'public-private partnership'. Subsequently, MOMRA commissioned a study on privatising municipal services which recommended a list of about 30 municipal services that can be privatised. Accordingly, Jeddah has developed a list of municipal services that can be privatised such as city cleaning, pest control, outsourcing vehicle supply, recreational facilities and other services (Abdulaal forthcoming).

Although the central authorities support the idea of privatisation, some institutional and organisational constraints still hinder the realisation of this policy. One major problem is political. Even though the revenue earned from municipal investment through privatisation would allow the reduction of government expenditure for service delivery, many social commentators in academic and private forums view this development decision as self defeating. They believe that service delivery is a means to enhance civic responsibility; therefore, it is unrealistic to levy any direct or indirect fees on citizens for public services and infrastructure. Additionally, the lack of necessary knowledge base for assessing the advantages of public-private partnership has caused the inability of both central and local authorities to develop a clear legal framework, performance dimensions or risk evaluations regarding these opportunities gained from a privatised programme. Moreover, the limited fiscal and legal power of local authorities compounded by a shortage of staff, limits the scope upon which municipal enterprise can develop. An account of such constraints is provided by Abdulaal's (forthcoming) article which documents the potential for public-private partnership in Jeddah.

In 2004, in response to public dissatisfaction and the complaints against the degraded quality of service delivery, The Saudi Council of Minister decided to put half the seats in 178 Municipal Councils in the Kingdom to the vote within a year. As stated earlier, the Law of Municipal and Villages was issued in 1977 to supersede the old Law Municipal Governorate of 1937 and reiterated the establishment of Municipal Councils. Although the Law of 1977 specified duties, formation and delegated the authority to the Municipal

Council to decide and monitor the performance of the individual municipalities and the effectiveness of overall urban management, they were not instituted and enabled to function (Abdulaal 2006). Four reasons can be identified as major constraints which minimized the role of the Municipal Councils in influencing decision making processes at that time. These include: 1) The centralisation of political power, 2) The rapidity of urban growth, 3) The complexity of urban problems which has forced the central authority to concentrate on resolving immediate needs of the growing residents through centralized planning approaches which has been viewed as a time saving approach for service delivery, and 4) The weakness of administrative arrangements in local authorities.

In April 2005, half of Jeddah's 14 municipal council members were elected while the rest were appointed by MOMRA. A journalist in Washington Post Foreign Service (Coll 2005: A17) indicates that the election of the Municipal Council in Jeddah ended in a sweeping victory for Islamic activists marketed as the 'Golden List' who used grass-roots organising, digital technology and endorsements from religious leaders with influence to defeat their liberal and tribal rivals. Whether recent governmental initiatives, such as the election of a Municipal Council, are a first step towards progress in the urban development management of the Kingdom, it should be noted that Municipal Councils, as well as elections, are a new phenomenon in Saudi Arabia.

At the time of their establishment, most local newspapers wrote of a giant step and initially greeted what they saw as a quantum leap towards better governance in society (electoral process). All these institutions, they argued were moving towards citizen participation, where decisions are being institutionalized (Qusti and Al-Salti 2005). Other commentators such as one of the journalists in The Washington Post Foreign Service (Coll 2005: A17) viewed the move as merely a token gesture. Another journalist in The Christian Science Monitor (Ambah 2005) indicated that the government's election-awareness campaign was insufficient because there were no grass-roots movements or civic societies available to energize the people to develop a certain stance for political life.

Nevertheless, the author believes that the inauguration of the Municipal Council, the establishment of the Consultative Council, the Provincial Councils, and the Human Rights Association all clearly illustrate a transition in community engagement from ad-hoc

consultation to officially constituted organisations (Alkhedheiri 2002). Such a move will, it is to be hoped, create a wide spread of urban planning and development management awareness in the country, particularly in decision-making at provincial (Emirate) and local levels. The staggered contests for seats on half of the Municipal Councils indicate that the idea of public participation of citizens in the planning and decision making process is highly desirable and widely acknowledged by some scholars in promoting good governance in the cities of Saudi Arabian (Abdulaal 2006).

Such participation initiatives can be considered to be instruments that facilitate transparent decision making and information flow process, minimize the pressure exerted by central authorities, and allow local communities to participate in various planning and implementation activities. In other words, the Municipal Councils, as representatives of local communities and as an advisory board for municipalities, cannot only influence the decision-making process, but also adopt a new role for supporting local people to develop negotiation skills around the management of their communities. Additionally, they also can play an important role in monitoring different activities carried out by the local authorities. The councillors make sure they perform their duties effectively and efficiently and raising objections to any action that does not meet their desired outcomes. Broadly speaking, the participative management approach can make the local administration transparent, accountable, and open to criticism. Moreover, with the contribution of local councils, one can also ensure that urban planning practices become more realistic and meet public expectation and, above all, ensure that different viewpoints are respected (Atmis, Ozden et al. 2007).

5.4 Social dynamic and the challenges of urbanisation

Any evaluation of the socio-spatial qualities of an urban environment would be meaningless without an understanding of the underlying social dynamics and the local demographic trajectories. The aim of this section is to gauge how far Jeddah has already travelled on its journey of spatial and social transformation and how much further it has yet to go. It briefly illustrates the growth pattern of Jeddah's population, highlighting how this pattern has transformed the social and spatial aspects of the city and created turmoil in the lives of families and the workings of social relations.

5.4.1 Demographic change

The demographic data in Jeddah share a number of characteristics with other major urban centres in Saudi Arabia. These include rapid growth, a high fertility rate, and substantial migration. Broadly speaking, the demographic trajectories of Saudi Arabia – which is among the fastest growing nations in the world – are linked with the country's economic prosperity and what has been called the 'oil urbanisation process.' The strategic coastal location of Jeddah and the city's special status as the entry point for pilgrims made it not only the major trading centre in the region, but also a diplomatic centre since the time of the country's unification in 1932, when the Saudi political elite chose it for this role. The concentration of power in Jeddah and the gradual accumulation of wealth there have attracted waves of newcomers to the city and speeded the rate of its population growth. According to the national census, Jeddah's population has increased from 2.8 million in 2004 to 3.46 million in 2010, which constitutes approximately half the population of Makkah Province, at a phenomenal rate of 3.55% (CDS 2004; 2010). This means that the city has grown more than 115 times between the unification of the country in 1932 and 2010 (Table 5-1).

Table 5-1: Jeddah, The change in the share of Saudi and non-Saudi population

	Saudi	%	Non-Saudi	%	Total
1932 (1351 AH)	-	-	-	-	30,000
1962 (1381 AH)	96,168	65	51,732	35	147,000
1971 (1391 AH)	234,400	59.7	170,200	42.1	404650*
1974 (1394 AH)	358,873	53	210,331	37	595900*
1992 (1412 AH)	-	-	-	-	2,046,251
1978 (1398 AH)	407,349	47.2	455,658	52.8	862,685**
2002 (1423 AH)	1,684,755	70.6	701,583	29.4	2,386,338*
2004 (1425 AH)	1,429,571	51	1,374,029	49	2,803,600
2010 (1431 AH)	1,729,007	50	1,727,252	50	3,456,259

Source: CDS 1962, 2004, 2010, * Jeddah-Municipality 2004. ** Osama Jastaniah, 1984.

With the turn of the millennium the financial markets of most countries have declined significantly due to the global financial crisis. In Saudi Arabia the impact of this crisis has been relatively limited because of the availability of mass surplus liquidity and increased

government spending which helped stabilize the financial situation of the country and revived the miniboom that had been interrupted by the Iraqi invasion. The rise of an oil revenue which accounts for roughly 75% of the Saudi budget has recently boosted the country's economy and provided policymakers with an opportunity to resume spending to promote economic growth (Fakeeh 2009). As the largest city in Makkah province to experience a huge input of public and private investment in the form of infrastructure and services, the city continued to be the leading business and commercial centre of the country (Behrendt, Hag et al. 2009). As is well known, the larger a city the greater becomes the likelihood that it will attract economic benefits. The thriving Jeddah metropolitan area continues to attract more expatriates who have come to take advantage of growing job opportunities. According to some other estimates, even with the recent relative slow-down in the annual growth rate (**Table 5-2**), the population is projected to expand to 8.2 million by the year 2050 (Jeddah-Municipality 2004).

Table 5-2: Jeddah, annual rate of population (1932-2010)

	Saudi	Non-Saudi	Total
1932-1962	-	-	5.44
1962-1971	10.41	14.15	11.91
1971-1974	17.70	7.86	13.5*
1974-1978	5.12	32.47	11.4*
1978-1992	-	-	5.9
2002-2004	7.88	39.94	8.4
2004-2010	3.22	3.89	3.55

Source: CDS (1974, 1992, 2004, 2010), *Jeddah Municipality (2004).

5.4.2 Structure of the population

Because the city has become a popular destination for immigrants from around the country and from other countries, the male population of Jeddah has historically been rising faster than the female. The difference however, has never been very substantial, as the families of worker immigrants tend to join them later. As shown in **Table 5-3**, in 1974 57.8% of Jeddah inhabitants were men, which decreased to a more balanced figure 54.5% in 2002, comparable to the national figure of 55,3 % (Jeddah-Municipality 2004). According to the preliminary results of the general census of population and housing for the year 2010

58.3% of Jeddah population male, compared to the national figure of 50.9%. This can be attributed to the large number of immigrants the city receives as a result of the current boom in oil prices and the economic prosperity of the country (CDS 2010).

Table 5-3: The change in gender in Jeddah (1971-2002).

Year	Male	Female
1971	54.3	45.7
1974	57.8	42.2
1978	54.8	45.2
2002	54.5	45.5
2004*	58	42
2010*	58.3	41.7

Source: Jeddah Municipality 2004, * CDS (2010, 2004)

With regard to age structure, according to the National Census of 1974 it has been estimated that 49% of the population is less than 15 years of age. This percentage declined to 43% in 1985 and to 39.93% in 2004 and then increased to 41.7% in 2007 (CDS 1992; 2004; 2007) . As is the case in the major urban centres in the kingdom, in Jeddah the youthfulness of the population is a dominant feature. In comparison with the rest of the country, the demographic survey carried out by Jeddah Municipality in 2002 shows that Jeddah has an older population. The percentage of young people less than 15 years old (32.2%) in Jeddah is lower than their percentage in the country as a whole, where 39.92% of the population are young people. This can be attributed to the large number of foreign immigrants who are mainly middle-aged. It can also be attributed to the lower birth rate in Jeddah compared with other Saudi cities.

5.4.3 Immigration

As noted previously, since the discovery of oil in 1938 Jeddah as well as other major urban centres in the country experienced large-scale international migration and internal movement from rural areas and small villages. This was a natural occurrence in that people mobility was from areas of lesser opportunity to areas of greater opportunity. According to the Jeddah Municipality's socio-economic survey carried out in 2002, foreign immigrants, who numbered 170,200 in 1971, increased to 210,331 in 1974. This amounted to 37% of the city's total population, with an average increase of 7.86% per annum (**Table 5-1**). On

the other hand, the number of citizens during the same period increased from 234,400 to 358,873, with an average increase of 17.70% per annum (Jeddah-Municipality 2004). During the period 1974 to 1978, which coincides with the economic boom, the annual rate of immigrant growth jumped to 32.47% and the number of immigrants in 1974 increased to 455,658 in 1978, a rise which represented 52.8% of the total city population (Jeddah-Municipality 2004).

During this period Jeddah, like other major urban centres in the country, experienced large-scale international migration and internal movement from rural areas and small villages. This was a natural occurrence in that people mobility was from areas of lesser opportunity to areas of greater opportunity. However, this period seems to demonstrate different trends from the one before it, since the percentage of internal immigration starts to decline, whereas the numbers of foreign workers begin to increase. Over the period 1978-2002, however, the rate of growth for international immigrants steadily declined to 1.88%. By way of contrast, the annual rate of growth of internal immigrants increased from 5.12% to 12.07% over the same period, and their numbers continue to grow until they reached 70,158 by 2002, with a 12.7% annual rate of growth. Consequently, the share of Saudi citizens in the total Jeddah population dramatically increased from 47.7% in 1978 to 70.6% in 2002 (Jeddah-Municipality 2004).

Despite the fact that the annual growth rate for foreign immigrants declined, their numbers continued to grow. This can be attributed to the fact that reliance on an expatriate work force was essential for Saudi economic development as much as their expertise and experience were not readily available among Saudi nationals since the economic boom of the 1970s. Moreover, although the number of skilled Saudi workers dramatically increased, a gap still existed between supply and demand for professional workers, and this gap could not be filled by Saudi workers. Thus, as demonstrated in the preliminary results of the General Census of Population and Housing for the year 2010, the total number of international immigrants increased from 0.7 to 1.73 million between 2002 and 2010, with a 11.9% annual rate of growth. As shown in Table 5-1 over the same period, their proportion to the total population also increased from 29.4% to 50% (CDS 2004; 2010).

It is fundamental to understand that, although the ethnic background plays a significant role in the distribution of immigrants (especially low-skill workers), this is not the rule. Immigrants with different nationalities, for example, can be found living together in a particular area. This is true for the highly skilled professionals from western countries who usually isolate themselves in gated communities. In other cases, as the majority of expatriates have spilt along class status lines, the ethnic minorities also tend to be divided between richer and poorer members of the same group. Moreover, in some neighbourhoods in the southern section such as al-Sabeel and al-Nuzlah, the proportion of ethnic groups outnumbers native Saudis (CDS 2004). In these areas, immigrants who have been uprooted from their social contexts have created new social worlds, practising some features of their previous way of life. In some other cases, minorities such as workers from Bangladesh can be seen spread through all parts of the city.

5.4.4 Immigration myths and challenges

In the cultural arena, the spread of expatriates in the city in general and the concentration of low-skill labour of diverse ethnic origin in the marginalised residential areas have led to the weaving of a dense tapestry of social networks. These networks have gradually come to reflect the way newcomers live and experience their daily lives. They can be viewed as representations of a lifestyle necessary for a culturally vibrant and cosmopolitan urban environment. With the ideas, skills and practices that immigrants brought with them from their home cultures, they provided much of the fusion that is a hallmark of the new urban cultures in Jeddah. Immigrants who prefer cultural isolation try to maintain their cultural identity by producing new cultural consumption spaces in their ghettos such as food shops, restaurants, clothing stalls, and stores that cater to their special needs in a niche environment; but overall they cannot be described as integrated communities in any socio-cultural sense. This can be attributed to their different ethno-national origins, languages and clans. In general terms, the way low-skilled workers live their lives indicates that there is an increasingly less positive attitude toward multiculturalism in the city. It also shows that, while the majority of poorly skilled immigrants purposefully isolated themselves in under-class areas, others, who have achieved economic success, prefer social integration to assimilation.

As far as the attitude of natives towards immigrants is concerned, it is important to note that as, an immigrant-receiving city; Jeddah has a more heterogeneous character than other cities in the Kingdom because its population structure is composed of diverse nationalities. Tolerance and acceptance of foreigners in the city is a social norm, by reason of the socially mixed nature of its neighbourhoods. However, the over-saturation of international immigrants exists alongside a growing sense of uncertainty, anxiety and insecurity, with the result that flashpoints of ethnic hostility have emerged and become noticeable in the city. As a consequence of the growth of an intensified ethnic heterogeneity, considerations of ethnic origin have become important factors shaping the attitudes of citizens towards out-groups. Different forms of social exclusion such as avoidance, unwillingness to communicate, segregation and discrimination have been used against immigrants. Although visible discrimination in the city is sometimes muted by Islamic norms which emphasize integration through strengthening sanctions against social exclusion, an anti-immigrant attitude has become more prominent. This can be attributed in part to growing concern about the faded national and regional identities alongside increased awareness of the threat that international immigrants pose when their numbers become unmanageable.

Previous research (e.g Al-Gabbani and Alhusein 2005) has confirmed that increasing resistance on the part of in-groups to the acceptance of out-groups can be strongly linked with the growing rate of unemployment among citizens, especially young people, and the large and increasing number of out-groups taking up residence. Despite the fact that Islam condemns discrimination against Muslims and encourages pro-social behaviour, some citizens act according to their perception of immigrants as a potential threat both to their economy and their cultural identity. Thus a negative attitude towards expatriates and the racial discrimination that stems from it reflects these citizens' attempts to remove the source of threat and competition (Yamni 2000). As pointed out by Berry (2008) in his analysis of the acculturation of immigrants in western cities, in-group attitudes towards strangers can differ, depending on the status of the incomers – whether they are refugees or asylum seekers or others who want to take up citizenship in their host country. In Jeddah, since Saudi citizens are not a homogenous group. Their attitudes towards immigrants differ not only according to the status of out-groups but also with regard to the social and religious inclinations of those groups.

The traditionalist group who view themselves as having greater social dominance support the idea of inequality and a willingness to implement aggression against immigrants. The traditionalists are those people who originally moved from the surrounding rural areas to settle in the city and became a majority group. Unlike most native residents of Jeddah, whose ancestors came from outside the Arabian Peninsula, the traditionalists consider themselves to be first-class citizens because of their tribal origins and their increasingly nativist sentiments. In order to maintain their social dominance, they support the concept of hierarchies among Saudi nationals and frequently express prejudice against others. In their discussion of the Social Dominance Theory, Guimond, Oliveira et al. (2010) and Esses, and Wagner et al (2006) argue that the traditionalists (those who believe themselves occupy a higher position in the social dominance ranking) also jeopardize the existing group-based social hierarchy as they view the native residents who have historical origins outside the kingdom as second class citizens.

Meanwhile, those with more liberal ideas are neutral towards immigrants. The majority of this group is made up of native Jeddawis whose parents or grandparents are foreign born and have been assimilated to Jeddah society naturalization by the Saudi government and have possessed citizenship for decades. As members of the host society, they have encouraged mutual acceptance and harmony between ethno-cultural groups. Despite the fact that their positive attitude towards newcomers is mainly based on the idea that Jeddah was built on immigration, there are variations in the level of anti-discrimination principles according the status of ethnic groups, the professional skills, or a need for expatriates within the work force (Yamni 2000; 2009).

In general terms, most of the citizens who express hostility towards immigrants think that expatriates take available work and economic opportunities away from nationals who increasingly finding the search for employment a frustrating experience. Moreover, in-groups such as the traditionalists perceive the presence of foreigners – especially that of low-skilled workers such as Africans, Pakistanis and Indians – to be not only the main cause of unemployment among Saudis, but also the chief cause of crime, serious social divisions, and problems such as moral corruption. Generally speaking, the spread of criminal activities in the city alongside growing levels of violence and anti-social behaviour – especially within the impoverished and overcrowded districts where high

numbers of illegal immigrants are concentrated – as well as the blurring of social norms have prompted a wider acceptance of discrimination towards expatriates. This attitude has been intensified by increasing the salience of national identity among citizens throughout the kingdom; in some cases, these negative attitudes border on outright xenophobia (Yamni 2000; Fakeeh 2009).

5.4.5 Family and social transition

Previous research (e.g. Al -Omari 1984; Altorki 1991) on the changes that have occurred in nature of the Saudi family have indicated that the mode of modern urban life has transformed the structure of the family from extended to nuclear, something which was rarely found in traditional Saudi cities. It should be noted that the nuclear family in modern Saudi societies differs from the one in industrialized countries as the number of children in a Saudi family is high compared with nuclear Western families (Khalifa 2001). As pointed out by Litwak (1965) in his discussion of family life in industrial democratic societies, the form of the family that can be found in Jeddah and elsewhere in Middle Eastern countries cannot be considered as an isolated nuclear conjugal nor an extended family, but may instead be called a modified extended family (Allan 1985).

In Saudi Arabia, the changing base of the economy and the changing lifestyle of the metropolitan societies have encouraged the involvement of women in education and the labour force in order to improve their living standard and to promote a high quality social status for them. As a result, families of the new generation tend to be small in size since the majority believe that it is impossible to achieve higher class status while having big families and children. Within the context of this socio-economic shift towards nuclearization, government policies can be considered as the chief factor that has directly and indirectly inspired the emergence of nuclear families. For example, based on the concept of urban primacy, most of the ambitious social and urban development programmes were concentrated in major urban centres such as Jeddah. These programmes have transformed the lifestyle of Saudi societies from one of small village dwellers and nomads to one of predominantly city dwellers. The concentration of employment opportunities and educational facilities in the big cities encourages citizens to take up employment in government service, thereby abandoning their communities and families

and their traditional means of livelihood, which in turn changes the pattern of daily life (Fakeeh 2009).

Moreover, as indicated in the previous section, the international migrants who have been attracted to these cities are often young individuals and couples; this, in turn, has accelerated the process of nuclearization in modern Saudi societies. Moreover, the housing policy, for another example, has also encouraged newly married couples to live in separate housing away from their parents. This breaks the extended family and reduces the size of family gatherings. Housing policies and schemes which advocate small housing units have put urban dwellers under pressure to limit their family size and their kin relations in order to avoid skyrocketing residential land prices and the unaffordable costs of building construction. This, in turn, enables them to be more mobile and to have greater advantages with respect to income and labour opportunities (Al-Ghamdi 1991; Kattan 1991).

In this context, it is important to note that, although the social change has taken place rapidly in Saudi society, family and kinship remain essentially strong, especially as a supporting network which allows individuals to withstand the economic hardships of immigration and unemployment. Moreover, family as a social institution remains the principal meeting place for family members, where socialization and social interaction are highly valued and encouraged. In a metropolitan city such as Jeddah, although there is a wide range of recreational facilities, sport clubs and religious communities that can be considered loci where people can socialise, the bonds of solidarity between family members have not yet been dissolved (Adas 2001). This can be attributed to three major factors: first is the strength of Islamic beliefs and principles concerning cultural patterns and personal status, which continue to be a legitimate basis for family social affairs such as marriage, the role of women and so on. Secondly, the growing sense of uncertainty, anxiety and insecurity and the increased awareness of the threat of crime and moral corruption that large cities embrace, these problems emphasize blood ties as the strongest and surest social network on which people can rely. Thirdly, the honour of the family in the eyes of society can be considered another major factor that brings all family members together and encourages individual loyalty in a way that keeps the family fully integrated (Al-Ghamdi 1991; Al-Nowaiser 1996).

5.4.6 Attitudes towards women

In Jeddah as elsewhere in the country, the segregation of sexes is strictly applied in all public spheres: the basic role of women in society is to maintain the structure of the family. As mixed public contact is forbidden by Islamic values and social norms treat women differently from men, most occupations in both the public and the private sectors continue to be held by men, excluding women from playing active roles in work and civic life (Kattan 1991). At public places such as restaurants and mosques, there are separate sections for women. Moreover, women are prevented by law from driving cars, riding a bicycle or travelling inside or outside the country without a written consent from their male guardian. Because the separation of women from men is traditionally accepted in religious terms as a moral imperative, religious people (especially the Committee for Ordering Good and Prohibiting Evil) have the authority to impose social restrictions on women's dress and their movement in public places (Yamani 1996). Similarly, male family members are expected to enforce women's compliance with social restrictions (Al-Ghamdi 1991).

Likewise, for a woman, walking in street or sitting public in spaces without a veil and a male relative might make her subject to negative reactions from the public, whose attitudes are sometimes more conservative than those of the government. Moreover, since the veil, as a mechanism to ensure sexual separation, is compulsory in public places, most activities of women in places dominated by men required the mediation of a servant or a man (Khalifa 2001). With the modernisation of the Saudi economy, which aimed to provide better standards of living for the public, not only has women's involvement in economic, academic and social activities increased, but popular attitudes towards women's education and occupation have also changed. In this context, it is important to point out that, although different factors (such as the mass media) prompted the growing role of women in civic life, the influence of national educational policies may be considered the most significant for the emergence of the Saudi feminist phenomenon (Khalifa 2001).

With the introduction of the new millennium, new feminist movements in Saudi Arabia emerged and gained a momentum which was inspired by the pressure applied by Western countries on the Arab states to ensure human rights, including gender equality. Consequently, thousands of young women have been sent to study abroad within the

program of the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques. This in turn has given a lot of women from low-income families the opportunity to travel abroad and experience openness to the world that was previously restricted to the daughters of the rich. Concerning the question of how far people's attitudes towards women's status have been changed, it is important to note that in Saudi society there was a belief that a woman's future prospects and happiness are dependent on marriage (Al-Suwaigh 1989; Kattan 1991). However, education and employment not only give a woman hope and provide alternatives to an empty and unhappy life in case should she remain a spinster, they also provide her with a wider scope within which to live her life. With regard to the institution of marriage, education and work gives women greater freedom to express their opinions regarding their choice of husband. Moreover, today's women have greater control over the arrangement of marriages and the selection of the furniture in their homes, which in turn increases their presence in public places and shopping centres (Altorki 1991).

5.4.7 Saudi social attitudes towards urban public space

The huge revenues of the oil industry in Saudi Arabia – which started to flow from the 1950s – are a machine for economic growth. They have combined with the desire of the government to centralise economic activities in large cities such as Jeddah, have fulfilled a wish to modernise society through an array of development strategies, and have been put to use in order to integrate the Saudi economic system with Western economies and to bring into existence a way of life modelled on modern Western luxury lifestyles. These concerns manifest themselves physically when they change the physical character of cities and alter the nature of the urban and suburban public realms. A spatial manifestation of new market demands and of the associated planning processes designed to re-shape society resulted in a sharp break with the traditional urban environment. This was based on the assumption that economic vitality and social transition cannot be sustained without changing the shape of the built environment, creating a context that supports modern economic activities.

In line with the imposition of authoritative planning principles, urban development and gentrification have been enacted to implement housing and transportation projects, fostering the spatial expansion of major cities such as Jeddah, which in turn transformed society and turned integrated communities into dispersed populations. Moreover, the

functional classification of land use regulation and eminent domain has been enforced by central and local authorities in order to ensure physical uniformity and to maximise economic productivity. Often megastructure projects, large scale developments such as large blocks, substantial buildings, and wide streets were imposed for the redevelopment of the old city and the creation of new residential areas, paving the way for the production of a modern lifestyle. While implementation of some of these projects led to social heterogeneity and polarisation and caused the displacement of many people from their communities by emphasising the clearance of traditional neighbourhoods, the destruction of traditional urban spaces, and the emergence of a series of dispersed residential areas alongside segmented urban spaces, were carried out by public sector agencies and private investors, who encouraged the creation of exclusive and depersonalised public spaces that limit public access; this in turn undermined the quality of the public realm.

In general terms, the development strategies and the invention of planning and architectural practices that prioritize single-use areas and foster the separation of people into different types of living environments – along with a tendency to prioritize vehicle through movement – have resulted in deep divisions in the urban landscape. This in turn has prompted the physical decomposition of the urban fabric. While the landuse regulation emphasised the segregation of individuals according to their economic and social status in the city, leading to social disintegration, modern building regulations encouraged the disappearance of traditional buildings, in which extended families of three or more generations had lived. These were replaced by new multi-flat building complexes. This in turn forced many young married couples to move away from their parents' homes and to live in socially diverse residential areas. In the context of divisions in the urban landscape and the pressure of promoting higher standards of living by taking advantage of labour opportunities, urban dwellers seeking personal profit found themselves voluntarily or by compulsion in a state of constant mobility, unintentionally implementing development strategies that encourage economic and social transition. As a consequence, bonds of kinship have been weakened, interpersonal relations have gradually dissolved, and both stability and social order have been threatened.

In his discussion of the theory of urbanism in Western countries, Louis Wirth (1930 in Lin and Mele 2005: 33) indicated that with the development of modern cities into huge

metropolises, 'segmentalization of human relationship' become the norm. Similarly, in Jeddah as well as other Saudi cities, redevelopment as a strategy for the central area has not only imposed spatial forms that encourage the creation of free-standing buildings and thus changed the character of the urban fabric, but has also encouraged the tendency towards individualism and segregation. This in turn has resulted in the commodification and homogenization of public space and reduced its significance as a facilitator of sociability. Likewise, modern planning and design regulations in new residential areas either increase density and social heterogeneity or produce lifeless suburban neighbourhoods. Many communities find outdoor areas frightening because of the growth of uncivil behaviour, a sense of anxiety and fear of crime, and because of this the quality of the social realm within the city has been jeopardised. Subsequently, individuals withdraw from public life, retreat inside the private realm of the household, and become frightened of engagement with others. Moreover, the undefined territories within the modern urban environment not only engender a sense of a lack of security and safety, and do so because people who experience them do not feel deep attachment to them. As a result, public spaces have lost their significance and a sense of corporate responsibility that comes with living in an integrated society has significantly declined.

Generally speaking, as previous studies conducted by Saudi scholars (i.e Bokhari 1978; Akbar 1981 ; Al-Nowaiser 1982; Alharbi 1989; Khalil 1994; Eben-Saleh 1997; Al-Hathloul and Mughal 1999; Eben-Saleh 2002) indicate, the fragmented urban fabric together with the heterogeneity of its inhabitants has not only separated people and established a feeling of being unable to move freely and safely within its borders, but has also violated traditional requirements for privacy, social interaction, children's and women's activities, social status and community wellbeing. More to the point, they identified some functional and objective aspects of the problem, such as increased distances between buildings as a result of building wider streets, the creation of widely-dispersed and barely accessible outdoor spaces that lack an identifiable hierarchy and fail to provide protection from the extremely hot weather, as well as a lack of public facilities and services. These have all acted as major obstacles that discourage people from exploring their urban environment and decrease opportunities for people to enjoy physical activities and social experiences in outdoor areas. Moreover, these scholars have also found that some subjective aspects of the modern urban environment (such as the lack of a

sense of community, security, privacy and responsibility) have caused a reduction of social interaction between residents and have undermined a sense of identity and the creation of collective activities such as the maintenance of public open spaces within communities. In general terms, the imposition of an economic system and spatial planning and design practices resulted in crises in the built environment and has disturbed the social harmony of traditional societies in Saudi cities.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter examines the methods of regulating urban development in Saudi Arabia with a focus on identifying the key actor that have influenced the way urban development regulated and the production of public amenities such as public space provision. A review of the adapted urban planning and development management practices in Jeddah illustrates that achieving a balanced urban growth is considered a challenge for public sector authorities at all levels in the Kingdom. Since the structural adjustment of the country (1932), a diverse array of plans and strategies has been developed that aim to regulate city growth and mitigate the adverse impacts of the urbanisation process. Very few of these policies and plans can claim success. This can be attributed to the fact that urban planning and public policies for regulating urban growth have either lagged behind the fast pace of physical development, for example, planning institutions were created after the consultants had already prepared the plans. These institutions were unable to keep the plans up-dated. In other cases, plans were drawn in haste as directives to be executed by local authorities without the involvement and the consent of communities.

The deficiencies of the development policies also can be attributed to the absence of regional planning institutions that tie national economic policies with spatial planning practices. They can also be attributed to the fact the organisations that oversee the spatial planning of the city are completely independent of the units that are in charge of implementation at local level. Consequently, fragmented efforts and overlap in responsibilities become evident in the development of the city. This suggests that an integrated planning system to deal with spatial planning at different levels is urgently required in order to guide the activities of various public sector units to reach a commonly agreed vision for city development. Future trends in service delivery demand a balanced

urban development strategy that emphasises both quantitative and qualitative aspects of the required public amenities within the framework of national urban land development policy, as well as regional and local planning. There, therefore, is urgent need to enact and enable legislation at the national level, and to provide for the preparation, approval and updating of physical plans and development policies with special emphasis on their implementation. Moreover, further improvement in the operation of urban management systems is urgently needed in order to establish a clear definition of responsibilities and priority actions, enhance inter-agency co-ordination, upgrade the competence of local authorities, resolve the rigidity of the prevailing bureaucratic routing, and change traditional central authority's attitude to their approach to urban policy and governance.

Jeddah's development is embraced by virtually all stakeholders, including central and local authorities, developers, bankers, community development groups, and neighbourhood residents. There is widespread agreement that the principal goal of urban planners and managers should be to enable individuals and communities to enhance their personal, social and spiritual well-being. Ensuring the 'maximum feasible participation' of stakeholders in the preparation of physical plans and in designing urban growth policies would help in defining priority tasks and actions. These are needed for attaining long-term objectives and achieving participatory planning. They are also essential for the creation of proactive strategies rather than prescriptive statements of urban development policies.

It is widely acknowledged by most of the local newspaper that the establishment of a Provincial System would be a good step towards providing a better role for regional government in Saudi society. Similarly, implementation of the modernized Municipal Councils would have the same effect at the local level. This would create an awareness of urban planning and development management in the country. It would also encourage people participating in the decision making process at both regional and local levels. The establishment of these two institutions would facilitate the flow of information. This, in turn, will, it is to be hoped, lead the interpretation and implementation of physical plans and development policies and stimulate both the public and the vital private sector to accept full responsibility towards the revitalisation of their city. Additionally, it is essential to note that while this study appreciates the merits of a participatory approach to the planning and decision making process, it does not, however, suggest that they are the

panacea for contemporary urban growth management in Jeddah. For such participation to be ultimately effective, new institutional arrangements are required in order to define the extent of public involvement in public policy formulation and implementation. Moreover, cultural realities, political limitations, management capacity and the educational level of related stakeholders should be considered carefully if the problems associated with the participation process are to be addressed.

Therefore, , as stressed in the planning and urban regeneration literature (Cuthbert 2003; Carmona 2010; Madanipour 2010; Punter 2010), designing and planning the urban environment should be based on the idea of building community wellbeing rather than focusing on the physical design of local space. This involves understanding the relationship between daily activities carried out in urban spaces by diverse individuals and communities. Such identification of people activities would assist urban specialists to obtain a broader view of how to maintain the quality of the public realm. Additionally, for securing the provision of public space, local authorities should support the development of vibrant local communities as a form of public space management and local communities should have an active role.

Based on the discussion of social dynamism and demographic change in Jeddah, it is evident that as is the case in other major urban centres in Saudi Arabia and the Gulf region, the process of ‘oil urbanisation’ can be considered the major factor behind the economic prosperity and the dramatic population explosion of Jeddah. Through different stages of city development, Jeddah witnessed the growth of internal mobility in a process of suburbanization. The population of the traditional residential quarters and the mature districts of the modern residential areas moved to new suburban neighbourhoods. The encroachment of commercial and business activities displaced their original residents, forcing them to move to other residential environments in search of better living conditions. Consequently, the outskirts of the city became heavily populated with residents, whereas the central areas came to be crowded with shoppers, visitors and workers. This in turn changed the social fabric of the old city and led to the spatial fragmentation of the metropolitan area.

The discussion also shows that, as is the case in many rapidly urbanizing nations, in major Saudi cities a lower mortality rate, longer life expectancy, a high level of young people

within the population and high fertility rates have all contributed to the rapid population growth of cities such as Jeddah. Moreover, it is quite likely that the high level of a general population expansion and the growth of the under-15 age group, especially for males, will continue to present a major challenge for city authorities. Such a population composition is most likely to lead to an increase in the unemployment rate and will result in socio-economic inequalities. It is important to note that if these figures continue to grow at the same rate, the city economy will face a huge burden of resource scarcity and societies will experience greater political and social issues. Recognizing that Jeddah is increasingly becoming a centre of demographic growth, public authorities need to play an important role in responding to the many challenges posed by urban growth, such as the high level of inequality between different areas in the city. In this context, decision-makers need to ensure that local authorities are prepared to face the potentially overwhelming threat posed by the global economic downturn and the oncoming population explosion.

From the preceding discussion of the expansion of immigration and the spatial distribution of different ethnic groups as indicated in various official data for the Jeddah population, it is evident that due to the unprecedented population growth caused by immigration, Jeddah's city managers now face serious challenges. It is also clear that the challenge does not just relate to public amenity provision and stability of livelihood, but also has security and defence ramifications. The previous discussion also indicated that the mode of modern urban life has transformed the structure of the family from extended to nuclear. Thus, as suggested in the literature (e.g. UN-Habitat 2010), multicultural cities such as Jeddah must address the negative aspects of the complex dynamic of social relationships between migrants and indigenous societies by engendering visionary governance policies. Failure to do so may result in economic disintegration, urban inequalities, social and political unrest and a reduction in the quality of life for both residents and immigrants.

The previous discussion also indicated that the mode of modern urban life has transformed the structure of the family from extended to nuclear, something which was rarely found in traditional Saudi cities. Families of the new generation tend to be small in size since the majority of them believe that it is impossible to achieve higher class status while having big families and children. Within the context of this socio-economic shift towards nuclearization, government policies can be considered as the chief factor that has

directly and indirectly inspired the emergence of nuclear families. In this context, it is important to note that, although the social change has taken place rapidly in Saudi society, family and kinship remain essentially strong, especially as a supporting network which allows individuals to withstand the economic hardships of immigration and unemployment. Moreover, family as a social institution remains the principal meeting place for family members, where socialization and social interaction are highly valued and encouraged.

In line with the above discussion it is clear that the development of the education services has provided women with opportunities to enjoy a more independent role, to expand their activities beyond their homes, and to visit public places or offices staffed by men that had previously been prohibited to them. Although massive developments are taking place in Saudi Arabia, the persistence of patriarchy – which is dictated by the value system of Islam as well as by social norms and traditions – has slowed the pace of Saudi feminism. In general terms, the changes in women's status have diminished the extended family by changes in fertility patterns, the promotion of a marginalised role for women in civic life, an increase in their contribution to the labour force, and their growing presence in outdoor areas and public places. Therefore, as stressed in the planning and urban regeneration literature (Cuthbert 2003; Williams 2005; Talen 2008; Carmona 2010; Gehl 2010; Madanipour 2010; Banerjee and Loukaitou-Sideris 2011), designing and planning the urban environment should be based on the idea of building community wellbeing rather than focusing on the physical design of local space. This involves understanding the relationship between daily activities carried out in urban spaces by diverse individuals and communities. Such an identification of people's activities would assist urban specialists to obtain a broader view of how to maintain the quality of the public realm. Additionally, for securing the provision of public space, local authorities should support the development of vibrant local communities as a form of public space management, within which context these communities should have an active role.

Chapter Six

Urban governance and public space management in Jeddah

Chapter 6

Urban Governance and Public Space Management in Jeddah

6.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, we have explored the historical proliferation of diverse strategies and plans enacted in response to the adverse effects of sprawling development patterns in Saudi cities and the way these strategies affected the production of public spaces in Jeddah. In this chapter we will discuss how the management of public space within this context constantly defines the condition of these areas and is responsible for the decline of the public realm. The chapter is organized into four major sections. The first illustrates the evolution of urban governance and public space management in Jeddah. The second section discusses the changing of governance arrangement, identifying the key stakeholders who foster the construction process, analyzing their roles and their decision-making. The third section illustrates the formidable challenges that the city has encountered in delivering public space amenities. We will show how the considerable areas reserved for public spaces and streets pose a complex challenge and become a public burden in addition to being a continuous drain on urban life. In the final section, we will focus on the implementation of current views that assert the importance of cooperation among different stakeholders for the improvement, maintenance and permanence of the public space within the MRAJ.

6.2 Evolution of public space management in Jeddah

Since the establishment of the Municipality of Jeddah in 1937, public space management has been dealt with as an implicit part of the environmental care responsibility of the

municipality. Since 1937, management practice has gradually developed into distinct departments, whose responsibility is to ensure that public spaces can fulfill their legitimate role as facilitators for public life and community well-being. Although public space management represents only one of the various duties of the municipalities, it has increasingly come to be considered as a politically sensitive area of public policy. To some extent, until the last two to three decades, public space provision and management were not seen as matters for concern or sources of controversy, since attention was focussed on the construction of housing, transportation and infrastructure. However, growing interest in the intractable problems of environmental quality was apparent in the fifth National Development Plan (1990-1995). This plan concerned itself with the environmental and health risks caused by irresponsible waste disposal in environmentally sensitive urban areas coupled with rising concerns over demographic pressure and the perceived quality of public life. All these factors were manifested in a succession of national and local reform initiatives. Before discussing the governance of public space in Jeddah specifically, it is important to establish the broader context within which urban management in Saudi Arabia operated.

6.2.1 Urban governance in Saudi Arabia

Since the final establishment of the Kingdom 1932, Saudi kings have gradually developed a central government whereby all financial resources are allocated at the national level. From 1953, the Council of Ministers, which is appointed by the king, has had the responsibility to formulate national policy and has directed the activities of the growing bureaucracy in Saudi cities and towns. Below the Council of Ministers, there are three levels of government administration. The highest level is that of the province. There are 13 provinces (emirates) headed by an appointed Amir or governor, and each emirate is divided into governorates (**Figure 6-1**).

The second administrative level is that of the governorates, which number 118 in all. Although the province and the governorate, which are under the shadow of the Ministry of the Interior, do not have specific responsibilities in relation to urban development and planning, and though their role is limited to the coordination of activities undertaken by various central government ministries, they often play an influential role in determining

public expenditure and programmes within their emirates. This has been especially the case following the recent approval of the Minister of the Interior and the Civil Service Minister of the administrative reforms for the existing organisational structures of the emirates that include a specialised agency for the administration of urban development. The third level of administration is the municipalities. The municipalities in Saudi Arabia trace their origin to the establishment of a municipal committee in 1856 (Akbar 1981). Later, under Saudi rule, the King ordered the establishment of Municipality Governorate for Makkah in 1926; by 1937, a Royal decree was enacted aimed at reinstating the Makkah Municipality and other municipalities in the major urban centres in the country. After the administrative reforms of 1977, municipalities became administered by appointed mayors under the control of the Ministry of Municipal and Rural Affairs (MOMRA) at the national level (Daghistani 1991).

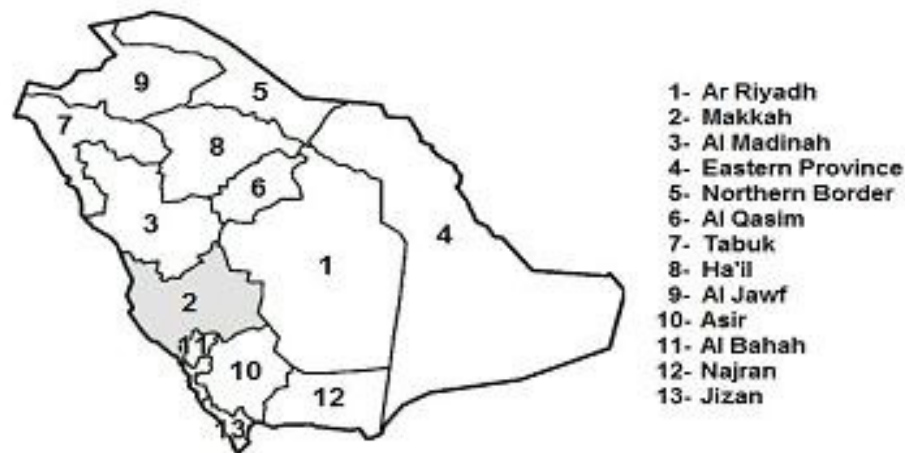


Fig 6-1: The provinces (emirates) in Saudi Arabia. Source: Adopted from ([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Provinces of Saudi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Provinces_of_Saudi))

Generally speaking, the legislative programme for urban governance in Saudi Arabia arose as a part of the national programme of reform in the administrative re-organization of public agencies. Three distinct phases can be identified for political initiatives which enable the establishment of an urban governance arrangement. The first stage started in 1923 and lasted to 1953. This stage saw the first of a constellation of royal decrees and managerial directives that formed the legislative bases for urban management, such as the formation of local and rural councils and a network of municipalities in the 1930s. The

second stage started in 1953 when the government moved to emphasise the setting up of national, regional, and local municipal management. During this stage – which lasted until the beginning of the 1990s – the Kingdom witnessed the establishment of governmental ministries, regional agencies and the Law of Villages and Municipalities (Alkhedheiri 2002). The third stage – and probably the most radical – witnessed a break with hierarchical centralization through the incorporation of multiple stakeholders. By the beginning of the 1990s the failure of spatial planning and urban management mechanisms to address urban issues and population demand efficiently and equitably led to tendering many municipal services, such as refuse collection and street landscaping, to the private sector. Moreover, this situation gave rise to the advocacy of urban management and calls to create imaginative ways of bringing about improvement in the organisational sphere (Al-Gilani and Filor 1997; Alshuwaikhat and Aina 2004). The involvement of other actors from the private sector and volunteers from local communities in urban management in the collective decision making process progressively shaped the various aspects of governance, spatial planning and urban management in the subsequent decades. During these decades, a number of administrative changes were made.

The first of these was the establishment of the Consultative Council and the Provincial System in 1992. The second act was the resolution of 2003, which reiterated the privatisation of certain public amenities including some municipal services such as outsourcing vehicle supply, recreational facilities and other municipal services. The third act is the resolution of the Council of Ministers (CM) which reiterated the establishment of the Modernised Municipal Councils in 2004. The fourth act is the approval of the Minister of the Interior and the Minister of the Civil Service for the rearrangement of the existing organisational structures of the emirates in the Kingdom in April 2009. Accordingly, the new administrative structures of the emirates will be reorganised to encompass new specialised deputies for the management of urban development. This new legislation has created a fresh national policy which, it is to be hoped, will serve to strengthen the role of regional bodies in decision making and to allocate major capital expenditure of various governmental units related to the delivery of public amenities, while promoting endogenous regional economic growth. However, this legislation is too recent at the time of writing to assess its effectiveness.

To sum up, since the 1940s wider changes in the organizational structure of both the central and local authorities in the Kingdom have impacted on the way cities being administered. Responsibility for the delivery of public amenities and spatial planning has devolved to regional and local authorities as well as to civil society actors from the private sector and local communities. Indeed, it is the resolution of 2004 which reiterated the configuration of the Municipal Council alongside the administrative reforms within Jeddah municipality in 2006 may be identified as the leading voices in discussions about contemporary urban governance in Jeddah, with responsibility promote public space management. These earlier public initiatives not only aimed to promote the performance of local authorities to meet their prescribed goals through the operation of the spatial planning and a wider administrative operation to regulate urban development, but also sought to induce civil society stakeholders across the country to be involved in decisions on how urban development was to be conceptualised and managed.

6.2.2 Traditional public space management in Jeddah

Historically, all elements of the built environment developed as a result of agreements among different actors. The small-scale decisions made by users of a particular urban setting have shaped the form and structure of that setting. In this process, communities are provoked to act in order to own properties by agreement. In traditional environment, there were certainly interventions by the city authorities, but these were ad-hoc political gestures and not regulations designed to be followed by all residents and users. Therefore, traditional Muslim cities in the Middle East developed and changed in harmony because consensus and agreement among communities was achieved, since the community in control of social conventions was composed of the members who were also subjected to it. The result was a transformation that led to valid solutions since the users realized the potential of the social and the built environment (Akbar 1981: 341). Traditionally, the practice of public space management in Jeddah as well as other towns under Ottoman rule was regulated by the local communities with input from private philanthropists, the guardian of inalienable religious endowment properties (*awqaf*), and the merchant's guilds. Their decisions collectively shaped the physical environment without the intervention of the city authorities (Akbar 1981; Eben-Saleh 2002). By 1856, with the establishment of the municipalities, this practice came under the responsibility of public sector agencies side-

by-side with charitable bodies and voluntary individuals from local communities (Akbar 1981). In response to demographic change and the growing demand for public amenities, the Municipalities Decree of 1879 was enacted to give the municipalities the right to manage towns. Accordingly, municipalities became more powerful and users of public spaces were compelled by them to carry out cleaning and improvement of their immediate public spaces. In some other cases, fees and charities were collected to fund the improvement projects. Broadly speaking, the change in the methods of regulating the residential environment and its public spaces away from the traditional pattern has raised conceptual and practical issues about the nature of the public realm (Bianca 2000). In the following section, we shall look in some detail at how this change came about.

6.2.3 Reshaping public space management in Jeddah Municipality

As stated in the previous chapter, since 1937 onward, when the Saudi government stimulated the establishment of modern municipal administrations in the Kingdom, the city authorities became solely responsible for regulating and managing the urban environment. Thus, the Municipality is considered to be the principal provider for public spaces since that time. Accordingly, public space production was viewed as a means to enhance civic responsibility. With the administrative reform of 1977, the Jeddah municipality as well as other major municipalities throughout the country came under the auspices of the Ministry of Municipal and Rural Affairs (MOMRA). With this reform process the municipality became directly responsible for administering land development, for the management of urban spaces, and for the coordination of public investment within 24 districts through 13 local branches. In accordance with this reform process, the organisational structure of the municipalities of major cities such as Jeddah was re-arranged into departments under the leadership of the Mayor, so they could handle the city's four main tasks: technical affairs, municipal services management, land administration and internal administration.

In principle, the Municipality had the responsibility to perform a wide variety of activities related to development and management of public services, but since citizens are exempted from taxes and the municipality is subject to a high degree of central authority control (since it relies on both the MOMRA and the Ministry of Finance for its annual budgets),

the municipality encountered a number of challenges which undermined its capability to achieve its prescribed goals (Daghistani 1991). As a local public service, the regulation of public spaces has been provided through the municipality hierarchy of operational structures. According to the administrative reform of 1977, there are more than seven departments with the responsibility for the management of public space under different directors. As shown in figure (6-2), these are: 1) the Department of Parks and Plantations, 2) the Department of Cleaning, and 3) the Department of Maintenance and Operation under the General Directory of Utilities; 4) the Department of Roads and Bridges, 5) the Department of Project Implementation under the General Directory of Projects; and 6) the Department of Local Planning and 7) the department of research and Studies under the General Directory of Urban Planning; and the directories of the 10 branches of the municipality (**Figure 6-2**).

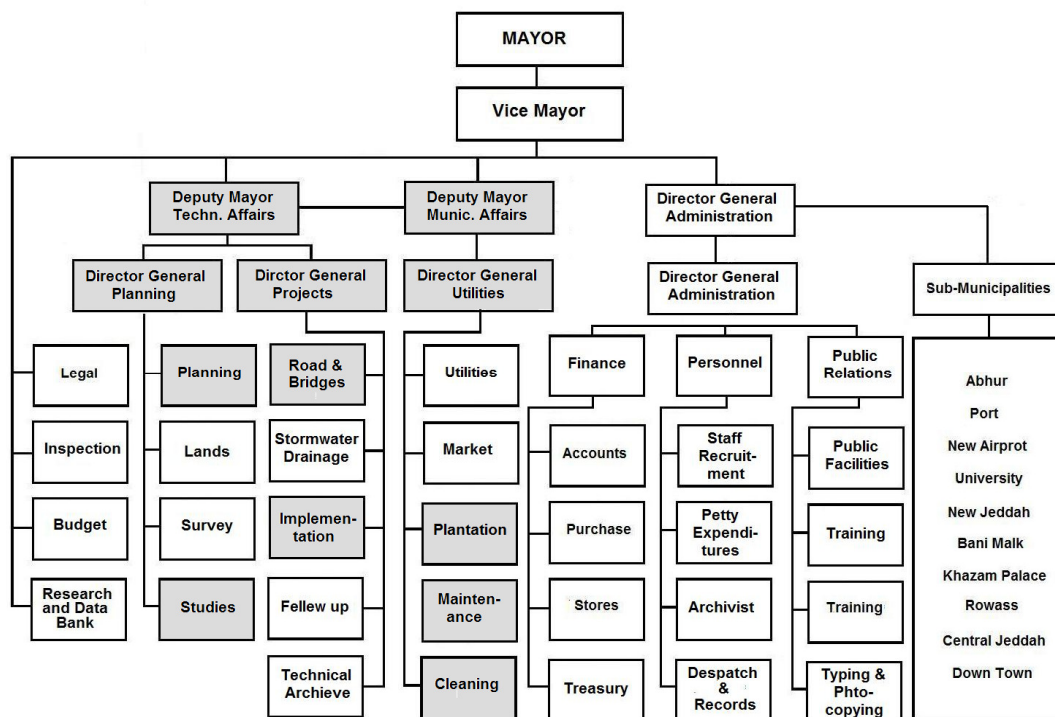


Figure 6-2: Public space management within the organisational structure of Jeddah Municipality of 1977.
Source: Adopted from Aziz-Alrahman, 1985.

Within the organizational structure of the municipality, each department has a separate line of responsibility for the management of open spaces and streets, and no one from these departments has ultimate responsibility for public space provision as a whole. These

departments can be grouped into two distinct areas of professional interest: urban design, and traffic engineering. While streets became increasingly regulated by the Department of Roads and Bridges through standardised mechanisms of street rules that focused on the efficient movement of motor vehicles, urban design professionals concerned themselves with playgrounds and public parks. Moreover, there is also a division within each professional interest, since various independent departments were in charge of different aspects of public space provision. The design and construction of public spaces was prepared by the Department of Plantations and their private maintenance contractors, while refuse collection companies were regulated by the Department of Cleaning and the Department of Maintenance, which was in charge of periodic maintenance. While the multiplicity of agencies and actors involved in public space management caused the fragmentation of responsibilities, the hierarchical nature of coordinated activities in such an organizational structure (defined by De-Magalhaes and Carmona (2009) as a ‘state-centred model’) is likely to cause challenges in a multi-level or multi-agency context, because this makes it difficult to regulate the production, construction and maintenance of public space in an integrated way. (This will be elaborated in greater detail in section 6.3)

In response to the recent emphasis on public space quality and its long-term management, in 2006 an administrative reform took place in Jeddah Municipality, which aimed to reorganise the different departments under its management. Consequently, in order to fix the key defect in the organisational structure of public space management (the fragmentation of responsibilities), different departments having responsibility for public space provision were placed under the authority of the Deputy Mayor for the purpose of projects and constructions, whereas they had previously been under various directorates and departments. The assumption was that such a technical body would resolve inter-municipal regulatory conflicts, thereby speeding up the delivery of services. According to this reform process, a new directorate called Planning and Design for Open Space Areas has been established and is in charge of the design of the public space (**Figure 6-3**).

The aim of this directorate is to establish a comprehensive public space programme. At the same time, its duty is to support the existing department in charge of public space management and maintenance – the General Directorate of Parks and Plantations. The

most important mission for this directorate is to make arrangements to collaborate and form partnerships with other stakeholders from the public and private sectors, as well as local community organizations. As will be explained later in the following sections in greater detail, although the new governing arrangements and organizational structures have the potential to bring contemporary public space management forward as a more effective practice, in practice, legislation is not yet comprehensive and several important challenges need to be resolved.

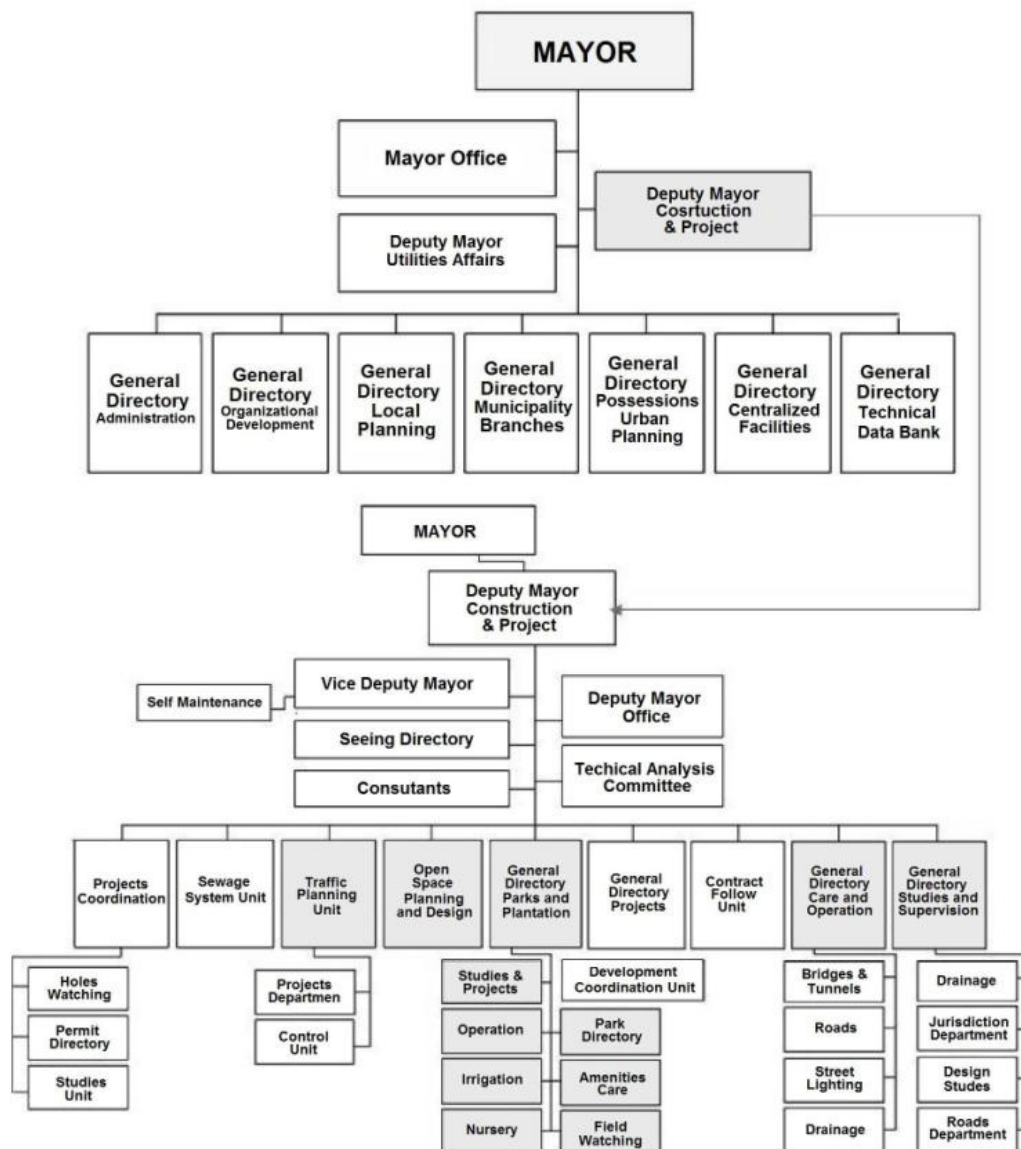


Fig 6-3: Contemporary public space management in Jeddah Municipality. Source: Adopted from <http://www.jeddah.gov.sa/>.

6.2.4 The involvement of the private sector in urban governance

The dominance of the central authorities in the decision making process not only hindered the ability of local authorities to have a positive impact on policy implementation, but also constrained them from promoting their capacity for expanding the quality of services, since these were funded by central government (Daghistani 1991; Mandeli 2008). In 2003, in response to perceived public dissatisfaction with the quality of public amenities (such as the low-grade maintenance of public spaces within residential areas), the Council of Ministers (CM) issued a resolution that approved the privatization of certain utilities and services including some municipal services, such as the development of public parks. The emphasis of the national development plans on the idea of collaboration in producing and managing public amenities in an effort to rationalize municipal spending has shaped the responses of municipal officials as they strive to comply with national policies and look for effective initiatives with which to deal with residential area issues in general and public space management in particular.

In an innovative move to improve efficiency and to overcome shortfalls in funding, the municipality of Jeddah under the shadow of the Ministry of Municipal and Rural Affairs (MOMRA) has maximized municipal investments and supported the privatization of public amenities delivery (Mandeli 2008). Accordingly, the involvement of local businesses in developing existing parks or creating new ones in partnership with the municipality has become an increasingly popular trend. This trend also had the support of the general ethos of local authorities, namely the previous mayors of Jeddah Municipality (Mohammed Farsi 1981-1987, Nazeh Nassef 1997-2000, and the most recent incumbent Adil Fakieh 2005-2010) who strongly emphasized the importance of working with the private sector.

As a result, private investors were brought in to improve public spaces within residential areas rather than restricting their activities to visible squares and street landscaping at the central city level. Broadly, the contribution of the private sector took three forms: first, through representation on the boards of not-for-profit companies with other stakeholders, including local community members and local authorities such as the Friends of Jeddah Park (FJP); secondly through direct donations submitted to the municipality from wealthy families for funding public amenities such as the improvement of public parks; and thirdly,

through municipality privatization and outsourcing. The Municipal Investment Development General Directorate is in charge of the bidding process. They are responsible for the selection of the highest bidding private investor, who will be in charge of the development, management, and maintenance process of a public space for a specified period of time, in exchange for the development of commercial or recreational facilities within the site.

When the General Director of the Municipal Investment Development was asked about the effectiveness of the privatization of public spaces in developing good quality public parks, he pointed out that most of the projects had been executed by large companies who signed a mutual agreement; through outbidding, they have created high quality public spaces and recreational areas especially for the projects that had been erected along the seaside. But the small investors who entered the municipal outbidding for developing public parks within residential areas did not achieve satisfactory standards. This can be attributed to the fact these projects did not turn out profitable for their developers. It should be noted that, although the central and local authorities saw the idea of privatization as fruitful, some institutional and organizational constraints still hindered the realization of this policy. One major problem is political. Even though the support of the private sector allowed the reduction of government expenditure for some service delivery and maintenance, many academic and private forums saw this trend as self defeating. They believe that the delivery of public amenities is a means to enhance civic duties and that it is, therefore, unrealistic to levy any direct or indirect fees on citizens for public services and infrastructure.

6.2.5 The participation of local communities in urban governance

As indicated previously, the involvement of local communities and the plethora of voluntary bodies involved in the practice of public space management have a long history in Jeddah. With the configuration of the modernised municipalities in the 1940s, responsibility for this practice shifted from local communities to public sector agencies. Recently, with the demographic changes and the growing interest in public space quality, new initiatives around community participation have been started by a charitable organisation called Friends of Jeddah Park. These initiatives have sprung from the desire of

some individuals from local communities and the private sector to improve the quality of life in marginalized areas, through cooperation with their residents. This organization is made up of members from the private sector working under the umbrella of the Jeddah Chamber of Commerce and Industry. The organization began in 2003 when three mothers who worked together as a team set out to acquire some undeveloped land for the construction of playgrounds and parks in Jeddah. In June 2006, their efforts met with success when they signed a mutual agreement between themselves and the Jeddah Municipality, allowing them to take action to reconstruct and maintain eight parks in the city (Akeel 21 June 2006).

The group aims to establish a friendly residential environment with well-maintained parks. Their mission was to raise fund and donations from local businesses for this purpose. In June 2006 their efforts succeeded with the signing of a mutual agreement with the Jeddah Municipality allowing them to take action. The agreement gave this organization an opportunity to reconstruct and maintain eight parks in the city. Among these parks are al-Nuzllah Park in south Jeddah district which sponsored by Al-Baik Restaurant Franchise and Faisal Public Park. It should be noted that, although progress in motivating the participation of local communities is being made in Jeddah with the help of the local authorities and the private sector, it appears to be taking place slowly. This could be attributed to some drawbacks in the institutional framework, namely the absence of a well-established legal institution that supports the idea of district association as a form of community empowerment and self-governance among local communities. Broadly, the creation of such organizations was mainly left to voluntary citizen-supported organizations (Mandeli 2008).

6.3 Views from public space management in Jeddah

This section draws on findings from the research that will demonstrate the efficacy of public space governance in Jeddah and highlight the challenges that city officers and other stakeholders face when managing public spaces within modern residential areas. To investigate the factors affecting the practice of public space provision, interviewees were asked to comment on their role, the role of their department or agency, their contribution to

the governance of public spaces, and their challenges. Essentially, our aim was to examine their performance. A current wave of legislative efforts seeks to enable actors within civil society to participate in local decision making, while newly established regulatory frameworks drawn up in the Jeddah Municipality aim to reconfigure the power geometries in a way that will enable public space management teams to resolve the substantial challenges they face in delivering public space amenities. Unfortunately, progress in both areas is taking place slowly and lagging well behind expectations. Our findings reveal that the key challenges associated with public space provision and management can be grouped into four main categories. These categories – as pointed by De-Magalhaes and Carmona (2009) in their study of public space management in England – are as follows: investment, regulation, maintenance, and the co-ordination of interventions in public spaces, which was an overarching challenge (**Figure 6-4**).

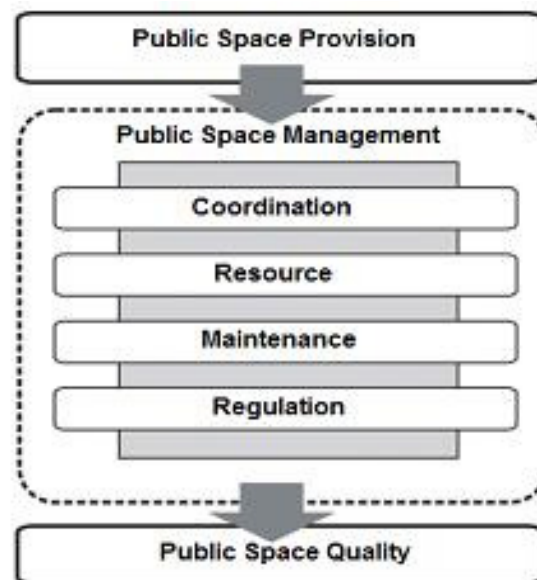


Fig 6- 4: Public space management and its key dimensions. Source: Adopted form De-Magalhaes and Carmona (2009), Page 114, Figure 1.

6.3.1 The problems of intervention coordination

As stated above, the purpose of the current administrative reforms in Jeddah municipality was grounded upon a need for improved co-ordination of splintered regulatory departments at the administration. However, the new structure was being set up in the context of

significant fragmentation at both local and national levels, based on the conventional professional boundaries of urban designers and traffic engineers (Hamilton-Baillie 2008).

No one agency has ultimate responsibility. While streets continue to be regulated by the traffic engineer of the Department of Roads and Bridges, public spaces such as parks and play grounds are regulated by the different branches of the municipality in addition to another three departments within the central municipality: one is concerned with design aspects, the second with construction and maintenance, and the third with cleaning. At the time this research was conducted, all the departments outlined above were almost entirely disconnected from each other, to the extent that their senior officers were hardly ever in mutual communication. Most of the officials in these departments whom we interviewed recognised that there is almost no co-ordination mechanism between different units, which still only work together through a separate line of responsibility. Even in the case of a single directorate such as the Directorate of Utilities, which supervises three different departments related to public space, internal divisions seem to increase the compartmentalization of utility management. This is often translated into a large number of disparate actions with different timescales, thus compounding the problems of coordination and undermining the efforts of the management team to achieve their prescribed objectives.

The range of evidence drawn from our research suggests that the challenge faced by public space management officers in the municipality in coordinating the activities of civil society actors and resolving the struggles over the term engagement of stakeholders is substantial. They came under pressure to provide more well-managed public spaces by considering a wide range of people as legitimate participants in the planning process. Although the new institutional and administrative reforms (the configuration of the Municipal Council and the approval of privatization for municipal services) aimed to place a renewed emphasis on local and private actions as sources of managerial control, in reality, the dominance of municipality officials has been emphasised rather than superseded. There has been bureaucratic resistance to the changes made to their authority, taking them from the status of dominant actors to that of guides steering others for private actions. These issues not only hindered them from carrying out their duties effectively, but also undermined the performance of good public space governance, since it appeared to be lagging behind. This

brought about a profound shift, sustaining collective actions and harnessing the active support that can be provided by actors from local communities and from the private sector, which can be engaged in public space management. Furthermore, the suggested change in the understanding of how public sector authorities should exercise governance has not taken place smoothly in the arena of public space provision. This can be attributed both to the resistance of municipality officers to adapt to the new governance arrangement and to the lack of a clear institutional framework that might support the involvement of civil society actors in urban governance. Consequently, in some cases the new arrangement for public space governance was riddled with tensions as a result of the multiplicity of actors and their struggles over the term engagement, while in other cases the range of actors and the great variety of their input in the absence of coordination made it difficult to know what had actually been decided and by whom. This in turn led to confusion about responsibilities.

6.3.2 Limited resources and qualified personnel

A number of questions were posed concerning the development of financial resources, the availability of expertise, and the existence of well-trained staff within the municipality. It was also asked whether appointed officers had a particular responsibility of overseeing public space issues and if they were qualified in relevant subjects. Overall, it was the unanimous view of those interviewed that the lack of sufficient financial resources had been a major limiting factor for them as providers and regulators of public space provision. Without adequate funds, they were limited in how far they could finance the construction and provide for the upkeep of existing public spaces. These limited resources, together with limited and unskilled staff and expertise, have not only undermined their capacity to do their duties but have constrained them from facilitating effective collaboration with other stakeholders. One of the municipality officers in the General Directorate of Park and Plantations pointed out that:

“The degraded quality of public space can be linked to the expansion of the municipality’s responsibilities, the huge number of residential areas and the population growth. Over the last few decades, if we look at the municipality’s statistical information, we can see that the expansion of the administrative area has increased at a much greater rate than annual budget of the Municipality. The

lack of resources in funding the construction and maintenance of large numbers of public spaces within the residential areas has created discrepancies between the prescribed goals and the outcomes of the amount and quality of public spaces” (Interview 2006, translated from Arabic).

Overall, the lack of resources for public space management can be attributed to several factors. Critical among these are: First, the dependence of the municipality of Jeddah on central government funding. Since citizens are exempt from taxation, and because it is *ultra vires* for any city authority to levy taxes, the government is the indispensable source of municipal revenue. Second, the national emphasis on reduction in the size and scope of the state and the rationalization of public investment. Third, public amenities such as public space are seen as liabilities that produce no direct profit for the private sector. Fourth, local authorities will not invest in public goods unless they have an immediate political return and require higher maintenance costs. Fifth, service delivery in Saudi cities is characterised by minimal cost recovery, since most of the services are not paid for and citizens are exempted from paying tax. All these factors limit municipal revenues and undermine local ability to address growing demands for public amenities, insofar as most municipalities are poorly equipped and suffer from a lack of adequately trained and qualified personnel.

6.3.3 Maintenance and waste collection problems

Most of the municipality officials interviewed have made it clear that the most fundamental problem related to public space provision and maintenance is an insufficient level of investment. This is because of the massive expansion of the municipality’s responsibilities alongside the multiplicity of departments and agencies involved in the practice of public space management. This has coincided with a national policy to rationalize spending on new public investments, and this in turn has led to a steady decline in funding for public space management. This situation has forced municipality officials to use approved monies to maintain existing projects for the construction of new public spaces. In consequence, existing spaces have been deprived of maintenance and have suffered neglect due to the transfer of their budgets to other projects. Meanwhile, the construction of new projects tends to be carried on without a cohesive strategy for public space provision, since most of them were created without accompanying funding for their long-term management.

Officials also highlighted other major problems. First is the delivery of contracts to the lowest bidder and in a competitive tendering process, with respect to maintenance activities such as refuse collection, street cleaning, graffiti removal, verge maintenance and park landscaping. Second is the lack of an effective monitoring and contract enforcement mechanism that can ensure the quality of service delivery adherent to the contract specification. Third is the absence of an integrated relationship between the municipality and external contractors for waste collection; this has reduced responsiveness due to a long line of communications between the municipal officials and those actually doing the work. And fourth is the irresponsible attitude on the part of the public towards the disposal of domestic waste and other antisocial activities such as littering and vandalism. As an example of this weak relationship, we may cite an uncoordinated action by the cleaning company. A journalist in Arab News (Sarah Abdullah 21 October 2007) reported that complaints about filthy bins increased during the recent Eid al-Fitr holiday, which saw dumpsters in many areas overflowing and rubbish lying uncollected for several days. Commenting on this, the director of Press Relations at the Municipality told Arab News that the contracts of the rubbish removal companies had expired over the Eid holiday. One of the municipality officers in the City Planning Department pointed out that

In Jeddah, there was only one contractor in the city in charge of trash collection, pest control and general cleaning. With the expansion of the administrative boundary of Jeddah and after receiving complaints, the government has recently increased the municipality budget. Accordingly, the city has been divided into three separate zones: northern, central and southern. Each zone is handled by an independent company to ensure competence and facilitate monitoring. To guarantee high quality, the municipality has established guidelines for cleaning companies. Unfortunately, with the appointment of a new mayor these guidelines have not been emphasized or enforced by the Cleaning Department at the Deputy Mayor's Office for Technical Affairs as suggested. In general terms, enforcement of existing urban regulations is inadequate, because there is no clear definition of mandates or responsibilities for authorities to enforce these regulations. This is all the more serious in the absence of any sense of awareness and the proliferation of irresponsible attitudes on the part of the general public. Violators of waste disposal regulations – whether they are officials of the municipality, contractors, or citizens – should be made aware of the penalties for violation, which should help in their enforcement. In order to tackle this problem, the municipality has enacted several by-laws (Interview 2007, translated from Arabic).

In line with this, it is evident that, in order to tackle the maintenance and waste collection problems we need to ensure adequate resource and improve management capacity. To achieve this, the municipality officials should take the long-term view, should consider the whole system rather its components in isolation, and should coordinate their activities with each other

6.3.4 Regulation problems

In Jeddah, the Municipality officials whom we interviewed tended to express frustration with prevailing attitudes on the part of residents towards waste disposal, their antisocial behaviour, and the general maintenance problems associated with heavily crowded public places such as ribbon commercial activities along the major roads. In a long conversation with the deputy mayor responsible for utilities, he spoke of a need for by-laws that could be used to control illegal usage and activities in public areas, these including leafleting, unauthorized trading, vehicle abandonment, littering and dumping garbage, all of which require considerable manpower to enforce. The Municipality has enacted several by-laws and hosted several forums about keeping the city clean and preventing the illegal use of public places; they have also created an integrated enforcement team whose members come from different Municipality departments, the governorate and the police, and whose remit is to tackle such problems. In spite of all this, poor co-ordination within the municipality and between different authorities has made it difficult for the team to prosecute breaches of laws and by-laws.

In many cases there is a need to establish evidence of culpability for officials in the higher authorities such as the Ministry of the Interior, the province (emirate), or Ministry of Municipal and Rural Affairs, rather than deal with the issue at the city governorate level. This situation has resulted in costly and time-consuming legal cases which the municipality cannot afford. Weak enforcement is not only due to the desire to implement laws or not, or to a lack of coordination among the enforcement team, but may also be attributed to the absence of decisive and applicable laws, insofar as most of the existing laws and by-laws are, in fact, outdated directives that were formulated during the period when the Law of Municipalities and Villages was being established in 1973. Along with the threats posed by

the illegal use of public spaces, there was confrontation and resistance to the defence of these spaces. In many cases, violators faced resistance from the community, especially from nearby residents. As an example, recently one of the public spaces within Jeddah's al-Bawadi district became a battleground on which a private contractor resorted to illegal activity just so he could appropriate it for his own use. Residents of this district struggled to keep this space within the public domain.

A journalist in Arab News indicate that in order to stop a private contractor hired by the Saudi Electricity Company, the residents of this district moved tents and cars into their local park (Al-Ghalib Sep.2005). The contractor had been planning to put up a large electric generator within the park. The park in question had been constructed by the neighbours by pooling their money to establish a safe place for their children to play. From their own incomes, residents brought in soil, planted trees, dug irrigation channels, set up swing sets and erected fluorescent lighting. The contractor moved in with a bulldozer and began tear the park apart. Residents of the area immediately reported to officers of the Municipality branch. In response, the municipality sent an inspector to find out what was happening in the park. The inspector found the demolition in progress and discovered that the action of the contractor has been carried out without authorization from the municipality. Accordingly, the inspector asked the contractor to leave the park otherwise his tractor would be seized. However, next day, residents found that the contractor had returned to continue his mission. Consequently, several palm trees had been uprooted, the swing sets and lighting had been torn down and the irrigation channels had been damaged. The residents decided to take it upon themselves to prevent further destruction. One of the residents indicates that:

“My children and my neighbours' children grew up around this park and played soccer here daily. During Eid, all the families get together and contribute food so we can sit together. This park is the heart of our community and often brings us together. By tearing it down, property values will go down and our children will have to play in the streets. We are expecting the contractors to try again tomorrow. It seems as if they are doing it in stages. They come for an hour and run off when the municipality comes. If they continue like this, by the end of the week, this park will be no more. If they stop now, however, I will begin from today to replant and repair the damage they have done” (Al-Ghalib Sep.2005).

Weak enforcement is not only due to the lack of coordination among the enforcement team, but may also be attributed to the lack of political will for the enforcement was also cited in the survey of this research as a major issue. In some cases, the municipality has had difficulties in directing its contractors and private developers to implement the proposed construction of public spaces as specified in the tender or outbidding documents. For example, in 2002 the researcher of this study was requested by the Mayor of Jeddah to supervise the construction of several public parks along the Corniche road that runs along the shoreline. Some of these parks were supposed to be constructed by private contractors and others by some developers through privatization and the municipal investment development process. By overseeing the implementation of these projects, we found that neither the contractors nor the developers were executing these projects, nor were they acting in compliance with the written specifications in the agreement documents of tenders or outbidding.

As indicated by Rakodi (2001: 212), where regulations or specifications on construction have been weakly enforced, they have often had adverse effects. Realistically, it has happened in Jeddah that the weak enforcement of agreement documents has ended up with a handful of violations, the omission of stipulation documents, and instances of abuse by developers and contractors. In some other cases, the municipality has had also difficulties in managing and regulating the uses and appropriations that take place in public spaces. This can be attributed to what De Magalhaes and Carmona (2006) called the fragmentation of responsibilities for the element of public space management. The different interests of municipal authorities in the development of the city promoted the occupation of public spaces by granting them to individuals in exchange for an expropriated property that the Municipality needed for another public work. Other trenches of public land have been given to individuals who have been entitled to own lands in the city through royal decrees. Accordingly, the Municipality took the decision to grant the land allocated for public spaces and parks without the knowledge of the departments who are in charge of public space management or those who maintain and contribute to the social and physical development of these spaces. All these actions represent the issue of power relations and the fragmentation of responsibilities for public space management.

6.4 The quality of public space management in Jeddah

The aim of this chapter is to highlight current changes in urban governance and their consequences for the nature and quality of everyday public spaces in Jeddah. The findings indicate that the municipalities of major cities in the Kingdom were transformed into large multi-purpose organizations with massive responsibilities and high levels of internal specialization and professionalism. This led to a situation in which the provision and maintenance of public spaces became a public amenity secured by different governmental apparatus. The last two to three decades have been associated with growing demands on public amenities and have witnessed reductions in financial resources. These two factors have brought commonplace urban problems to large cities, such as insufficient provision for public amenities and neighbourhood degradation. This in turn, gave rise to a political and social context that has included changes in expectations with regard to living standards and has stimulated wider support for a healthy lifestyle. This situation led to the emergence of the practice of public space management as a clearly defined public service and put it at the top of the priorities of central and local governments. Accordingly, waves of institutional arrangements and administrative reforms took place, aimed at establishing regulatory agencies with a stake in the delivery of public space amenities instead of being dealt with as an implicit part of general city management.

With regard to the current administrative reform that took place in Jeddah Municipality in 1977, the findings show that the change in the organizational structure of the Municipality resulted in the creation of a number of departments with a focus on narrowly defined services related to public space. The compartmentalization and the narrow focus on public space delivery eventually necessitated a more thorough restructuring of public space management in 2006. These administrative arrangements and the sustained effort devoted to promoting public space management have had many positive implications for the promotion of public space provision, which was now concerned with design quality and long-term maintenance. However, not all the implications were necessarily positive: noticeable key issues remain unaddressed, such as an ongoing lack of coordination and the absence of an appropriate legal framework for the involvement of civil society actors in this practice.

Our findings have identified four principal issues in public space management. These are resources, maintenance, regulation, and coordination. Regarding the issues surrounding resources, our findings show that the allocation of resources for public space management was found to be limited, since most departments in charge of this area are not well equipped and still lack essential personnel, expertise, and financial arrangements; this has undermined their performance. In the same vein, we see that a lack of coordination in the organizational environment leads to conflicts in management efficiency regarding the use of resources, conflicts that may end up hindering effective intervention and management. Additionally, the degraded level of maintenance can be considered an intrinsic consequence of the lack of a cohesive strategy for public space provision, since most of these spaces were created without adequate funding for their long-term management. Moreover, the existing spaces are poorly maintained and suffer neglect due to the transfer of their budgets to fund other projects.

This situation has been exacerbated, not only by a lack of coordination between the agencies in charge of public service delivery but also by weakness in the enforcement regimes of Jeddah Municipality which made it difficult for officials to secure compliance with legislation; this in turn undermined their performance in effectively maintaining and managing public spaces. The weak enforcement of existing urban and environmental bylaws can be linked to the difficulty experienced by the enforcement team in coordinating the activities of the fragmented governmental agencies which rely on a hierarchical chain of command. This is all the more serious in the absence of a sense of awareness of good practice coupled with irresponsible attitudes on the part of the general public.

Since it is widely believed that improved resources and management capacity would occur if those responsible took a longer term view, it is imperative to look for further improvements in the organizational structure and personal development together with an increase in the level of professionalism by the public space management. Additionally, there is a need to sustain basic conditions for financial resources. This must be enhanced alongside a more strategic structure that can secure both multi-level and multi-agency coordination, take responsibility for several aspects of public space management, and

ensure that the desired target can be met with available human and financial resources (De-Magalhaes and Carmona 2009).

Regarding the idea of public participation and governance arrangements, it should be noted that, although the new reforms have the potential to induce the different departments involved in public space management in the Municipality to encourage actors from civil society to participate in the enterprise of governance, coordination problems continue to appear between both sides as they seek to maintain and, if possible, expand their individual authority. This can be attributed to drawbacks in the institutional framework, namely the absence of a well-established legal institution that clearly defines the standard of service delivery in public-private partnerships and those contracts or supports the idea of devolving welfare delivery to charitable associations and voluntary agents as a form of community empowerment and self-governance. In the light of this, one can argue that, in order to tackle these issues, local authorities and other civil society stakeholders must be empowered and reorganised in collaborative ways to deliver public amenities. This implies first, a need to establish legislation that clearly defines public-private agreements, legal requirements and policy obligations; and, secondly, a requirement to develop consultation mechanisms in order to ensure the coordination of stakeholders' views and aspirations and to make sense of both diversified and localized demands.

With regard to the current configuration of the Modernized Municipal Councils, it should be noted that, although these efforts have aimed to strengthen the leadership role of local municipalities, local councillors have faced many problems, problems that have undermined their role in steering the inter-dependent actions of public sector agencies. This can be linked not only to conflicting mandates but also to the absence of a well-established legal framework that gives municipal councillors decisive authority and legal standing with which to counter any effort that may serve to minimize their vital role. Therefore, in order to increase the responsiveness and efficacy of the current governing arrangement, a further improvement in the institutional framework is needed in order to co-ordinate the work of those who influence the provision of public amenities, the allocation of authorities, tasks, and resources (Al-Gilani and Filor 1997; Devas, Amis et al. 2001; McGill 2001; Healey

2002; Dekker and Kempen 2004; De-Magalhaes and Carmona 2006; De-Magalhaes and Carmona 2009).

6.5 Conclusion

From the analysis of our empirical data we have seen that, despite the fact that Saudi Arabia is a strongly centralized state, with broad control over both planning and corporate development, as is the case in the developed countries there has been a shift in the regime of public space governance and an increasing erosion of municipal control. This can be attributed to growing interest in the intractable problems of environmental quality and health risks caused by under-management of the considerable range of areas reserved for public spaces alongside dissatisfaction with the perceived quality of public life. All these factors were manifested in a succession of national and local reform initiatives which encouraged the involvement of the private sector in urban management, and which necessitated the development of social movements such as the traditional forms of control exerted over local communities. Again, this allows us not only to argue that modern spatial planning and management practices are transferable beyond the immediate context of cities of developed economies, but also to affirm what Madanipour (2010) pointed out, that there are some general themes in global urban processes (such as the globalised market economy and the growing neo-liberalism) that affect the way public spaces are used, appreciated and contested by different actors everywhere.

The empirical data also show that the government has made efforts at incorporating the concept of urban governance into city development. However, putting such a concept into operation in a large city such as Jeddah is problematic. This chapter argues that, for these governance arrangements to be fruitful, it is imperative to enable city authorities and other stakeholders at the local level to take full control of planning and management for their administrative areas and to induce them to organise themselves in partnership structures. Given the multi-dimensional nature of public space and the variety of its actors (something stressed by many authors, (e.g. Healey 2002; Madanipour 2003; Lang 2005; Carmona, de-Magalhaes et al. 2008; Punter 2010), in order to create successful public spaces and contribute to good governance, it is essential to adopt an innovative regulatory approach that has the potential to produce these spaces in such a way that they are spatially

integrated and differentiated; socially accessible for all; and institutionally managed through an inclusive process.

Drawing on the discussion of public space provision and maintenance from a western context offered by Carmona, de-Magalhaes et al (2008) this chapter introduces public space management in Jeddah as a policy field and regulatory activities that constantly define and redefine the characteristic and quality of these spaces. More to the point, this discussing not only enables us to understand the context within which open space management occurs but also helps us to answer the questions of how to deal more effectively with public space provision in Jeddah. Our findings corroborate Carmona, de-Magalhaes et al point and demonstrate that many contemporary spaces within modern residential areas experienced decline and neglect not only because the deficiencies in the way these areas planned and spaces within them designed, the ineffective daily management of these spaces can be considered as major factor that defines their quality. Moreover, based on this discussion, we can argue that to improve the quality of public space within this context, we need to address different challenge for public space management from both the strategic (national) and local levels of development management. Additionally, the generally poor-quality performance of the municipality also points towards the need for an innovative approach that has potential to coordinate management responsibilities and brings public space provision foreword as a more effective area of government activity.

Chapter Seven

Master planning and the production of public space in Jeddah

Chapter 7

Master planning and the production of public space in Jeddah

7.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, we observed that urban development management in Jeddah has been negatively affected by a modernisation and urbanisation processes coupled with the fragmentation of national programmes. A third issue is closely intertwined with institutional fragmentation in policies that have been adopted through national policy and with urban management practices at the local level. This is the degree of responsiveness to varied and changing demands that can be made by the prescriptive regulations of the master planning approach. At the root of this problem lies a measure of dependence on technically generated and geometric schemes, which leads to rigidity in the production of public spaces. This chapter is organized into three major sections. In the first, we discuss how the advent of the Jeddah master plan sparked questions about the compatibility of technically-generated open spaces with their users and context. The second section focuses on the development process of public space within modern residential areas in Saudi cities. The third section highlights the recent initiatives by the Ministry of Municipal and Rural Affairs to improve public space provision and the quality of residential areas. In the final section, we will focus on the implementation of current views on how to improve the spatial and socio-cultural qualities of public spaces.

7.2 The advent of the Jeddah master plan

As indicated earlier in Chapter 5 (Section 5.3.3), during the decades following the demolition of the city wall in 1947, the damage done to Jeddah city was immense. This was the result of work carried out by municipal authorities, who devised and implemented radical schemes of physical planning in order to reshape the city. By the end of the 1940s,

the construction of two major roads (the Makkah and Medina roads) led to the development of high-income residential areas along both highways. Moreover, the urban planners located al-Sabeal district in the south east of the old town with a view to accommodating low-income immigrants. Since that time, the essential features of the social fabric of the city were almost entirely mapped out: high-income families reside in the northern and eastern parts of the city and low-income groups occupy the southern sector. Subsequent urban development tended to adhere to this pattern of social geography (Fadan 1977; Bokhari 1978; Daghistani 1991).

In 1973, the dramatic increase in urban growth necessitated approval of the first official master plan which had been prepared by an experienced international consultancy consortium - Robert Mathew and Johnson-Marshall Partners. The master plan was viewed as an indispensable tool for the regulation of urban development and control of additional suburban low-density areas. It also aimed to curtail the emergence of squatter-inhabited homes in the southern section of the city: these were constructed at a rapid rate to accommodate tremendous influx of immigrants – something outside the scope of the original consultant's imagination (Alharbi 1989; Al-Ghamdi 1996; Al-Hemaidi 2001).

Based on the recommendations of the master plan, which itself owed much to the spirit of the City Efficient Movement, parts of the traditional city have been demolished and replaced by high towers in landscaped parkland. Moreover, the narrow streets have been widened to accommodate car movement and several ring roads around the city have been constructed in addition to a network of streets, highways, boulevards, roads, and other types of pathways, which were brought into being in order to connect the city with the rural hinterland. Consequently, in a short period of time the city's face was transformed into a grid-based arterial network which was a major step in laying a foundation for the future expansion of urban and suburban developments. This in turn prompted the emergence of new forms of segregation, fragmentation across the city layout, and the accumulation of a series of suburban developments with degraded urban services. Although many other factors have proved crucial in the emergence of new residential areas in the periphery of the city – including low land costs, purity of the environment, and the availability of services such as shopping malls – the influence of the motor car played a dominant role in creating a sprawling metropolis (Jenaideb 1993; Al-Otabi 2006).

In traditional Jeddah, for example, social segregation was not a feature of urban society and there was a relative absence of spatial grouping by social status (Sijeeni 1995; Mortada 2003). With the introduction of the car and its penetration of the traditional residential quarters, the overall tranquillity of these quarters has been disturbed, traditional street culture altered, and local community identity eroded (Adas 2001). As a result of the construction of new roads, the common bond of communities dissolved as people dispersed into different parts of the city and remained isolated in their homes in order to avoid fast traffic on the streets around them. The transportation network was based on spatial planning standard. These planning criteria had an impact on different levels – according to area density and social class – employed for new residential developments such as the Prince Fawaz Corporate Housing. These were built according to accessibility, economic class, building densities, and housing type. The construction of this project and other similar projects around the traditional city has contributed to fragmentation of the urban fabric; this, in turn, has led to greater social mobility and polarization between the rich and the poor (Berger and Luckmann 1964). By imposing criteria to which would-be residents of the city must adhere, economically homogeneous totalitarian metropolitan communities emerged, leading to social polarization and stratification (Madanipour 2003a).

With regard to the provision of public space and recreational facilities, the master plan was supported by a series of area action plans designed to identify more specific proposals for the development of the city. Many playgrounds, parks and recreational areas all over the city have been created to beautify the city and enhance the civic responsibility of the municipality. Five basic types of public open space have been identified by the master plan. First are major city recreational spaces such as the development of the Corniche area and the revitalization of public spaces in the traditional market. Second are street and traffic arteries. Thirdly, major city parks such as Khuzam Garden and the reserved area for Jeddah's Eid Festival prayer ground, which covers an area of five hectares along the Makkah Road to the east of the city. Fourthly, local public spaces within the residential areas, and, fifthly, the privately produced spaces such as public spaces within shopping centres. The following sections provide a brief review of the development of public spaces and recreational areas.

7.2.1 The revitalization of the historic town and its public spaces

The historic area of Jeddah is an outstanding example of architecture and urban fabric on the Red Sea and, indeed, for the Arabian Peninsula, a region which includes the traditional homes and markets that still retain their urban heritage, ranging from architectural features and those elements of an organic urban fabric which provide typical examples of an Arabo-Islamic city. The historical town of Jeddah covers an area of 1.5 square km and is comprised of three original residential quarters which were bounded by the city wall. Aerial photographs taken before the demolition of the wall in 1947 reveal that during this time the city was traversed by four major thoroughfares through which the larger traffic passed. They were directly linked to the outside through the town's five major gates. Commercial and other public activities such as schools, mosques, shops and government buildings were concentrated along these thoroughfares (**Figure 7-1**).

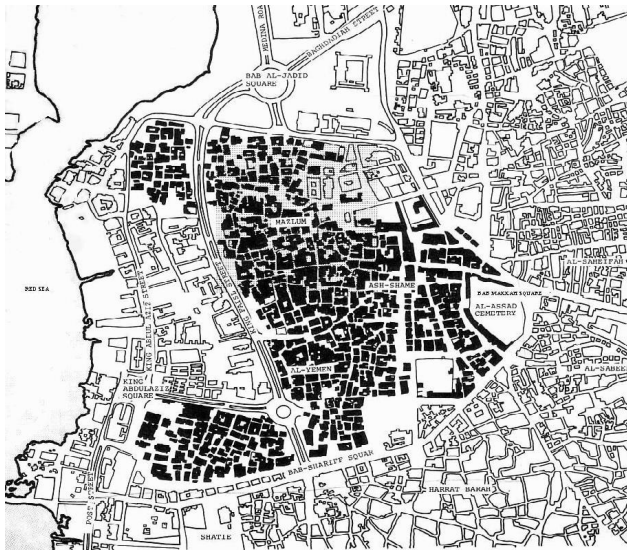


Fig 7-1: Plan of Old Jeddah, showing the urban tissue of the city and the interaction of solid and void.
Source: Fadan 1983.

Within the residential quarters, the roads and alleys are generally irregular and often as narrow as seven feet. These roads act as major collectors of local movement and penetrate more deeply into the residential quarters, where they allow some public access before leading into dead-ends within an extensive network of pedestrian streets and communal spaces. Overall, public spaces in the form of alleyways and commercial streets within the market area provided residents with gathering places used during social occasions, religious holidays, and evening celebrations. Most of the traditional structures consist of

two to four-storey residential houses with wooden windows, which provide a certain level of privacy for residents by allowing them to see people in the streets while keeping their own privacy intact (**Figure 7-2**).



Fig 7-2: Traditional buildings in old Jeddah.

The way these buildings are arranged has strengthened the social links and ties among neighbours. They also encourage social contact and daily gatherings which in turn help create strong feelings of safety and security, while providing protection from strangers. In addition to the residential buildings with their wooden fixtures, there were other major elements which gave the city a distinguished appearance and an identity, such as the covered bazaars, merchants' mansions, mosques and the unique market area with its wooden roof-structure which still functions today (**Figure 7-3**).

Until the demolition of the city wall in 1947, the traditional residential buildings were inhabited by extended families. Following Jeddah's dramatic urban growth prompted by the construction of a large urban development, the local residents left these buildings to move to the newly built suburbs. The old town houses are now mainly occupied by low-income foreign families and the historical town in general has become a centre for the city's labour force accommodation and local businesses such as markets and traditional offices. After the introduction of modern building materials in the 50s, the construction of traditional coral limestone houses was abandoned and the historical city was in effect left to deteriorate (Fadan 1977; Bokhari 1978; Jenaideb 1993; Sijeeni 1995; Adas 2001). In the mid-70s Jeddah Municipality contracted the British architectural firm Robert Matthew, Johnson Marshall to prepare a conservation plan for the historic area. The conservation

scheme is part of a broader master plan embracing the entire city, which aims to establish a comprehensive civilised vision for the historical area and to preserve its heritage.



Fig7- 3: Jeddah, the main market in the 1920's. Source: (Stacey-International 1982) .

The conservation programme pursues two major objectives. The first is to save buildings of architectural interest (which implies the preservation of original heights and volumes within buildings, repairing façades and landscaping); the second is to upgrade the traditional urban fabric by improving its public spaces both within the traditional market area and the original residential quarters. In addition to the revival of traditional construction by bringing in old craftsmen, the revitalization project included the building of a five-star hotel with a traditional design, and the upgrading of old public spaces in order to resurrect customary ways of doing things, through establishments such as traditional coffee shops and restaurants. Accordingly, streets and pavements have been covered with marble, granite and basalt slabs, and public spaces have been adorned with greenery, fountains and street furniture such as benches and lampposts (Bokhari 1978).

Whether the preservation of the old town was successful or not, some commentators (e.g. Daghistani 1993) point out that the conventional master plan approach in Jeddah cannot be considered as a total failure of planning practice. There have been some notable successes in many locations. The ambitious programme for the conservation of Old Jeddah as an important part of the city's master plan is, according to Djamel Boussaa (2002) an interesting attempt to apply a conservation scheme in a rapidly growing and modernizing

city. The construction of legible iconic architectural developments and the improvement of connectivity between the surrounding projects helped generate a desirable image and made the historical town a place to visit for all the city's residents and guests (Boussaa 2002). Others (e.g Bokhari 1983) point out that the restrictive focus on the preservation and revitalization of Old Jeddah was based on enhancement of its aesthetic value rather than on an appropriate heritage management strategy that would have ensured its viability and sustainability. Moreover, the traffic congestion surrounding the old town caused by a lack of an appropriate road system to serve the central area and the unrestricted traffic movement and haphazard on-street parking made a journey to the central area unpleasant and discouraged many people from visiting it.

In summary, the conservation projects generate desirable images and public spaces in the city that attract private investment. This, in turn, has benefited the whole society. By incorporating authoritarian urban design and arbitrary management approaches, the municipality was able to gain the necessary political and financial support for the implementation of the project. Moreover, the municipality's efforts to raise public and academic awareness of the importance of preserving the uniqueness of the townscape of the old city and protecting its historic buildings, made them able to articulate their concern. At present, due to the dramatic increase in land values, new high-rise buildings are constantly replacing the traditional ones. Thus, for the effort of preservation to be sustained, there is an urgent need for an integrated urban design framework that will create a balance between conservation and development, allowing the old and the new to blend in harmony (Bentley 1983).

7.2.2. The street network as major public spaces

As indicated above, by the end of the 1950s when traffic congestion had become a matter of serious concern in Jeddah, the municipality proposed a preliminary traffic scheme to guide the construction of two major roads connecting the city with the twin holy cities of Makkah and Medina, in addition to the widening of some of the local roads in the old town. Based on this traffic scheme, the master plan of 1973 proposed a comprehensive street network. Accordingly, the municipality has invested heavily in the construction of high-speed expressways and major arteries to connect the city with its outskirts and with

other cities. A great deal of money has been spent to construct the proposed underpasses, bridges, tunnels and ramps needed to integrate the local street systems with the high-speed expressways and to reduce local traffic congestion caused by the increasing flow of cars. As a basic physical planning concept, the master plan introduced the grid pattern for land use and land subdivision of new residential areas. The premise was that rapid and expanded urbanization occurring in the city involves increased number of trips in urban areas, trips which are somewhat random in their distribution through the city. Thus, an arterial grid system for streets layout was thought necessary on the assumption that it would create maximum access throughout the automobile-dependent urban areas. Furthermore, the urgent need to provide mass housing (which the planning officials had to deal with) added to the conviction that the grid-based arterial systems were the most suitable pattern for the design of new residential areas and for future provision of public services and community facilities (Aziz-Alrahman 1985; Montgomery 1986).

In general terms, the evolution of the transportation network has generally led to the diffusion of urban growth. In this context, many people become dissatisfied with how the city is becoming fragmented, and rebel against the conventional wisdom that creating a 'modern' metropolis is both desirable and inevitable. The advent of the street network caused changes in the shape of the city and altered the nature of public spaces within it. The huge amount of urban spaces allocated to the street network and the emergence of modern freestanding buildings expressed new relationships between physical objects and the surrounding landscape. In the old town, a small percentage of the urban fabric was devoted to transportation, meaning mainly narrow roads built to accommodate predominantly pedestrian and animal traffic. By way of contrast, the introduction of the new street network in modern Jeddah has mainly meant the construction of wide streets to accommodate an ever-growing number of motor cars.

Based on the utopian ideas of the City Beautiful Movement such as Baron Haussmann's concept for the transformation of Paris and the utilitarian principles of the Charter of Athens, the officials of the Jeddah municipality have affirmed their responsibility for addressing the increasing demands of modern life. These include the new demand for residential areas and the growing need to address the new motor traffic. In order to enhance the city's image, officials strove to beautify and decorate streets, roundabouts and

boulevards through the use of monumental sculpture and other elements such as fountains and obelisks. Consequently, intimate vistas and narrow footpaths, winding alleyways and confined residential squares have been replaced by wide and straight avenues and vast decorated roundabouts these destroy the harmony that had existed in the intricate interplay of solid structures and the void surrounding them, altering the nature of traditional urban spaces and deforming the character of the city as a whole (Bokhari 1978).

From an environmental point of view, the construction of major traffic arteries such as the Jeddah-Makkah Expressway caused the blocking of natural water channels, which in turn caused environmental degradation. Moreover, the ongoing construction of residential buildings in valleys susceptible to flash flooding in the east of the city has restricted opportunities to develop appropriate municipal services such as sewer and drainage systems. The failure of the street network along with the mismanagement of city works became widely apparent when Jeddah witnessed a cataclysmic flash flood on 25 November 2009. According to Arab News , as a result of this flood more than one hundred people were reported killed, about eight thousand properties were destroyed, and around five thousand cars were damaged (Humaidan 4 December 2009). After this flood, everyone agreed that blocking the natural channel by the construction of arterial grid streets, bridges and residential areas coupled with the absence of an appropriate drainage system to handle effluence and occasional downpours, together with a lack of disaster management planning were the key components that rendered the flood so catastrophic.

From a spatial and functional point of view, the free-standing buildings sited in the landscape alongside an extensive system of expressways, elevated ring roads, bridges and underground concourses, all contributed to the isolation of the public from the ground plane, where social intercourse traditionally occurred. Such an urban development, as Roger Trancik (1986) has pointed out, not only fragmented the urban fabric and created lost spaces that represent a headache for urban designers as they strive to create outdoor areas to act as unifying frameworks. Such spaces also discourage pedestrian movement and social interaction insofar as these streets serve only one purpose, which is to move and park cars. Moreover, as Kunstler (1993) points out, the intensive street networks in modern cities have been designed to accentuate isolation and disconnectedness. In Jeddah, it is impossible, inconvenient, or dangerous to walk anywhere since shopping centres and

restaurants are often located on streets with no pedestrian paths and are surrounded by huge parking lots (**Figure 7-4**). Accordingly, children must be driven to school, recreation centres and the homes of friends. The need to drive everywhere has turned available public spaces into expressions of movement rather than facilitators of social interaction. This, in turn, has contributed to the deterioration of community and culture (Sennett 1977).



Fig 7-4: Jeddah, the construction of major street network.

From the socio-cultural point of view, as pointed out by Abdulla Bokhari (1978), in Jeddah the construction of streets has had adverse consequences on the expression of local culture with its aesthetic preferences, preferences which remained static until 1961. The conservative way of life is being dislodged as the construction of new wide streets such as King Faysal lead to the removal of large numbers of traditional houses, while high-rise buildings in the international style are built to replace them. Moreover, as Edward Relph (1989) indicated in his discussion of the modern urban landscape in North America, the visual context of a new, fragmented urban development in the international style replaces traditional styles as the dominant feature of the cityscape and gives us the impression that isolation and misrepresentation are being employed. Additionally, the construction of the new traffic infrastructures such as the elevated Makkah expressway, the solid structure of the bridges of the inner ring road, and the underpasses at street junctions left many old buildings as morphologically and culturally isolated (something John Gold (2009) has pointed out). This can be attributed to the availability of useless spaces of waste ground between the road and the buildings. On the other hand, in some areas through which the expressway passes, such as al-Sabeel district, these old buildings attract disadvantaged immigrants, bringing squalor which eventually makes these areas 'collections of strangers'.

This has played a critical role in creating social disintegration when the residents of adjacent buildings are forced to flee elsewhere.

As observed by Jane Jacob (1961) and other writers who have attacked the products of modernist movements in cities with developed economies, in Jeddah the adoption of the master plan approach to city development and the use of a dominant traffic system, zoning and urban renewal schemes have contributed to the displacement of buildings from external spaces alongside the emergence of fragmented and exclusive urban spaces (Venturi 1966). As public spaces have been dedicated exclusively to the movement and storage of cars, these spaces have lost their significance as facilitators of social interaction (Eben-Saleh 2002). This ignorance of the wholeness of the built environment in general and the importance of outdoor areas in particular resulted not only in what Rob Krier (1979) called 'the erosion of urban space' but also led to what Richard Sennett (1977) refers to as 'the erosion of public life', creating emptiness in the expression of the public domain, deforming intimate social interactions while causing a high degree of social polarization and segregation in the process of transforming the socio-spatial fabric in general. On the whole, most of the current initiatives in the Jeddah renaissance, have emphasized the car at the expense of pedestrian movement, created vast free-flowing spaces at the expense of existing social locations, made use of the Bauhaus and Le-Corbusier idealism of utilitarian function to design buildings and accommodate street networks without considering the actual needs and desires of local communities.

7.2.3 The development of the Corniche as a regional recreational area

Regarding the provision of public space at city level, the master plan of 1973 emphasized the development of several projects. These include the Creek of Obhor, located 40 kilometres to the north of the city; the Corniche area adjacent to the Shate'e district; the sea lagoon opposite the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and the seafront opposite al-Hamrah; the hilly areas in the east of the city; the revitalized traditional market and its public spaces; and a vast open area to be developed for casual walking and as a major recreational areas. Alongside these recreational and environmentally sensitive areas developers were required to leave valleys to act as channels for floodwater close to the hilly areas in the west of the city, which witnessed the ongoing construction of residential buildings and other activities.

Similarly, most of the Creek of Obhor, which had been designated a major recreational area for public use has been appropriated by some individuals since the 1960s; this, in turn, made the beach area both visually obstructed and physically inaccessible. Thus, instead of being developed for public use, large tracts of the beach area were developed as profit-making projects such as tourist villages, private leisure centres, cabins, holiday villas and walled enclosures. Likewise, the vast open space, which is strategically located among residential areas and which occupies an area of over 26 thousand acres, and proposed to be developed on a large portion of the old airport grounds has been relocated. Today the area has been subdivided into commercial, office and residential premises. Broadly speaking, as stated by Abdulla Bokhari (1978: 313), ‘in the absence of effective land-use control, much of Jeddah’s natural potentials were misused,’ including the city’s most beautiful natural amenities: the sea with its blue waters and small islands.

To encourage development of the proposed recreational areas and public spaces in the city, the master plan of 1973 was supported by a series of area action plans, which were designed to identify more specific proposals. Among these action areas are the developments in the Corniche area and in the Red Sea coastal park, whose shoreline serves as a major recreational area (**Figure 7-5**). The development of this project was intended to increase public access to the coastal waterfront, especially after the appropriation of the Creek of Obhor by private developers. The project suggested that the existing Corniche road be widened to a two-way coastal promenade route and that it should include ambitious proposals for the waterfront. To achieve this, the coastal line has been extended out into the sea along the reef flats by filling works and through the acquisition of development rights from some private properties.

It was Mohammed Farsi (1981-87), the previous mayor of Jeddah, who accepted the responsibility to oversee the urban development of Jeddah. He strove to include an ambitious proposal for the Corniche area while creating intensive recreational projects, decorated boulevards, the revitalization of the historical town, and a series of integrated building projects that flourished in the spirit of the City Beautiful Movement that had existed in Jeddah since the 1980s. The Corniche was designed and implemented to facilitate both active and passive recreation. A visit to the area not only meant being active in the daily context of public life; it is also meant the pursuit of private emotions and

sensations through visual and physical contact with the seaside. Like Daniel Burnham, who drew upon the monumental style of the Beaux Arts in order to create the Chicago Plan in 1909, Farsi's intention was to utilize the political and economic resources available to him to create an orderly city that contained attractive images that expressed its artistic values and enhanced civic responsibility while attracting private investment. Like Burnham, he believed that enhancing the city image was necessary as a basis for making people preserve higher levels of morality and civic duty (Smith 2006).



Fig 7-5: Jeddah, the Corniche development Project. Source: Jeddah Municipality, 2006.

Whether the development of the Corniche was successful or not, some commentators (e.g. Daghistani 1993) writing from a macro-spatial planning point of view have argued that, although most of the recommendations of the master plan were not implemented as specified in the documents, implementation of the Corniche area development can be regarded as a reasonable attempt to translate some of the plan's recommendations into reality. They also maintain that, no matter how appropriate the urban design and landscaping details of the project have turned out to be, overall, the project not only contributed to the enhancement of the public realm but also allowed substantial private investment to take place and offered many benefits for the community at large (**Figure 7-6**).

As an environmental planner and designer, Abdulla Bokhari (1978: 374) has argued that, despite the harsh climatic conditions and the lack of water in Jeddah, large sums of money are wasted annually for the beautification of the city. In a more recent local newspaper

article, he (8 Dec. 2009) points out that in order to create an ugly asphalt road in the Corniche area, the plans have permitted construction on poor quality rubble. This has encouraged the construction of high-rise buildings built without any consideration of the fragility of the land. Not only that, but no scientific studies have been carried out on the extent of the impact these buildings have had on the earth's crust, the soil underneath, or the surface infrastructure. This also has been done without tackling the lack of sewage and storm water. Moreover, Bokhari adds that relying entirely on septic tank practices despite the traffic congestion accompanies the creation of public spaces that are popular with families but which exist in dangerous locations and areas of fast traffic. All these activities have eliminated the beautiful shores of Jeddah and have taken a heavy toll that has led to the destruction of marine life along the coast.

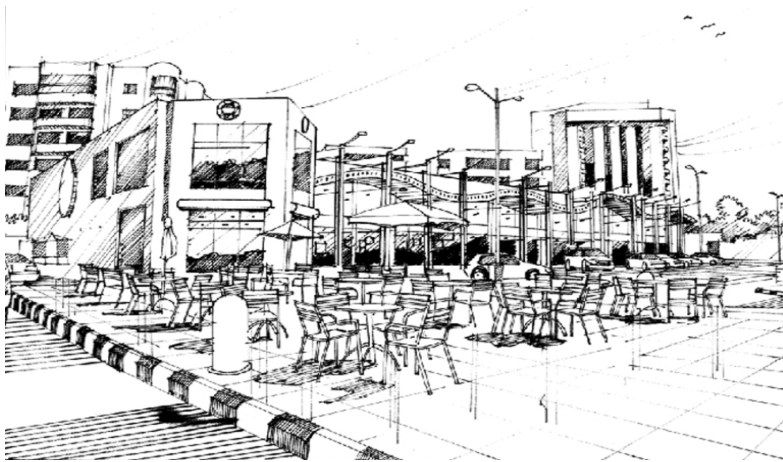


Fig 7-6: Jeddah, the enhancement of the public realm in the Corniche area.

Others (Al-Shahrani 1992; Hammadi 1993; Sobahi 1995) writing from a design and landscape architecture point of view have argued that the Corniche development is an example of a project that emphasised a sterile notion of beautification rather than the creation of a healthy recreational area suitable as a place where city dwellers can escape from the stresses and strains of urban life. Additionally, they point out that the Corniche road itself, which was originally designed to be used mostly for the pleasure of driving, was poorly envisaged in terms of size, quantity and traffic safety considerations. The pavement was constructed with benches that are scattered with little consideration for the provision of an open space where people can sit and children can play safely away from the dangerous traffic flow. Similarly, the pavement is not wide enough to accommodate walking trails, planting, lampposts and seating areas for visitors. Both the walking trails

and the seating areas were provided with limited planting and without shade. It has also been argued that the exotically designed recreational areas, alongside the incorporation of evergreen plants and trees that require huge quantities of water, negatively affect the quality of the project and represent major deficiencies in the way it has been designed.

Bokhari (1978) also takes an institutional point of view, pointing out that, although the importance of recreational facilities in general and public spaces in particular had been grasped by the mayor of Jeddah at an early stage in the city's urban planning process, the outcomes are disappointing and do not correspond to either climatic conditions nor to prevailing socio-cultural qualities. Jamel Akbar (1981), indicates that the construction of the Corniche project in general and the creation of the open museum of sculpture are products of the mismanagement of public resources. He further speaks of the exclusivity of the project: social wealth is spent in areas where nobody lives while there are many residential areas that lack essential infrastructure such as drainage and a sewer system.

Today, with the accelerated economic reforms that are still experienced in Saudi Arabia, the Corniche precinct not only became the recreational area that most frequently attracts city residents and drew in people from all across the Gulf states, attracting them all with its sea frontage and its cluster of new lifestyle developments. It also became a prime real estate location, with its intensive high rise projects and tourist facilities. This, in turn, has not only changed the Corniche skyline, but also attracts yet more real estate projects such as the construction of five-star hotels and prestigious resorts which are expected to contribute to Jeddah's development as the first tourist and recreational centre in the country. Although new building activities will cause the environmental quality of the seafront to deteriorate, especially if the municipality does not tackle adverse effects from the absence of an appropriate sewage system, if we consider this in macro-spatial planning terms, the project was the right choice for the municipality at the end of the 1970s and the start of the 1980s as a location in which to create a prestigious recreational area. In general terms, this project not only enhanced the city's image and attracted private investments but its construction also helped to protect the remaining publicly accessible waterfront on the northern shoreline from further private appropriation.

7.2.4 Private public spaces

As indicated in the previous chapter, urban development in Jeddah was shaped not only by the actions of the central and local authorities but by those of the private sector and elites. More to the point, where the city authorities invested in infrastructure, they opened up areas for both private development and public investment in residential, commercial, recreational and industrial ventures. Large urban developments in the city had been constructed from the end of the 1960s and 1970s. Through the construction of these projects, the onus of providing public amenities such as recreational areas and public places began increasingly to fall on the private sector. Despite the fact that the private production of public space is more evident in various projects than others, their construction was considered to be an exceptional case that had been opened to the ad-hoc and opportunistic redevelopment decisions of the municipality of that time.

With the advent of the master plans of 1973, action area plans were prepared by private consultants for the central area and the Corniche under the auspices of the municipality. As indicated in the previous sections, one of the main aims of these plans was the establishment of incentive zoning by utilizing specific formulas so as to encourage participation of the private sector in the development process. Despite the fact that these plans have affected the direction of the development of these areas in general, their framework was decided on the basis of negotiations between the municipalities on the one hand and the real estate, finance, construction and design sectors on the other. In line with this, the development and design guidelines are set up on a project-to-project basis, and are very open-ended, flexibly written, so as not to discourage or constrain projects created by private developers.

Generally speaking, the privately-owned public spaces are those which have been developed into shopping malls, private places of entertainment, residential developments and office parks. Most private projects were developed in the city centre, in the Corniche area, at strategic crossroads in suburban settings, and along major traffic arteries such as al-Madinah Road and Prince Mohammed Bin Abdul-Aziz Street. The construction of these projects was often accomplished in the context of a complicated negotiated process through zoning incentive systems that award builders additional height and density

allowances in exchange for attractive spaces. Priority is usually given to the development of plazas and parks, landscaping and design. Despite the fact that most of the developers and their architects typically expressed a certain amount of resentment over the control exerted by the municipality officials, the reason for the production of public space within the sites of their projects was mainly to increase business and commercial space rather than to provide public amenities. Their intention was to create attractive environments that shoppers and patrons would find attractive and which would enjoy a comfortable commercial atmosphere. One of the clearest examples of a private project that has provided public space in the city centre is al-Mahmal Shopping Centre (**Figure 7-7**).



Fig 7-7: Jeddah, upgrading outdoor areas adjacent to the Queen Building and the al-Mahmal shopping centre in the central area.

This project was developed through agreement between the municipality and the private developer. It was built as an integral part of a privately owned office and retail complex. It features developed indoor public spaces, enclosed by glass and steel, in addition to an outdoor space adjoining the main buildings. The entire complex is an excellent example of a mega structure superimposed on an existing urban form and visually/physically disconnected by design and scale from the adjacent traditional market and living quarters. As stated by Clammer (1997: 137) in his analysis of similar projects in developed countries, the public enter through limited 'checkpoints'. And shoppers can 'enjoy the facilities, secure in the knowledge that the city is outside and they are experiencing a different kind of public space. Overall, the architecture of this project as well as most of the privately developed mega structures consists, in the main, of free-standing structures isolated from the surrounding urban fabric. Their design reflects the extraordinary attention

paid to monitoring who enters and leaves, and keeping an eye on people while they are in the building or on the outdoor areas of the project. These developments also employ private police to patrol the premises or to monitor the public through surveillance cameras (CCTV), and they incorporate the use of design features such as the moving walkway and various arrangements of escalators, skywalks and other concourses to monitor movement.

With the expansion of the municipality's responsibilities and a shrinking budget over the last two decades, the financial resources that the municipality officials have for the provision of amenities such as public spaces decreased sharply (Sobahi 1995). While urban planning development policies have provided the necessary resources for the construction of new housing units in the city, massive population growth rates coupled with shrinking financial resources posed serious challenges to the management of such huge urban expansion. The dispersal of modern residential areas across the city with leapfrog developments has made the provision and maintenance of utilities and services quite expensive. Consequently, the Municipality has adopted a privatization policy and designated urban locations for municipal investment projects that can be privatized, such as public spaces which were developed previously as recreational facilities or places for public use at the city coastline. As a result, these public spaces turned into controlled or delineated spaces within gated recreational villages, shopping malls, private places for entertainment, and office parks.

One example of a recreational development that provides public space through public-private partnership in the northern part of the Corniche areas. This is Al-Shallal Theme Park, which was developed on governmental land by a private investor, the Abdul Rahman Fakieh Group. This project is considered to be one of the most popular amusement parks in Jeddah which provides entertainment facilities for local residents as well as visitors from other cities of the Kingdom. In terms of design, the park boasts of having the largest double looped roller coaster in Saudi Arabia which is considered as one of the major features of this project. It also includes a two storey entertainment building at the center of the park, which features an ice skating rink and indoor children play areas. The park also boasts a large open space and lagoon surrounded by a number of retail outlets and several high class restaurants. Despite the sensitivity of the municipality to public easement and accessibility questions in the design and development of these projects, it appears that the developed public open spaces are treated no differently than any other private property in

that they have gates and are closed at night. Accordingly, one could argue that private developers of public spaces are insensitive to public expectations as reflected in the rules and guidelines of the investment documents or in negotiation agreements. Consequently, the overall open space development ultimately reflects the developers' intentions for operating the space as if it were private property (**Figures 7-8**).

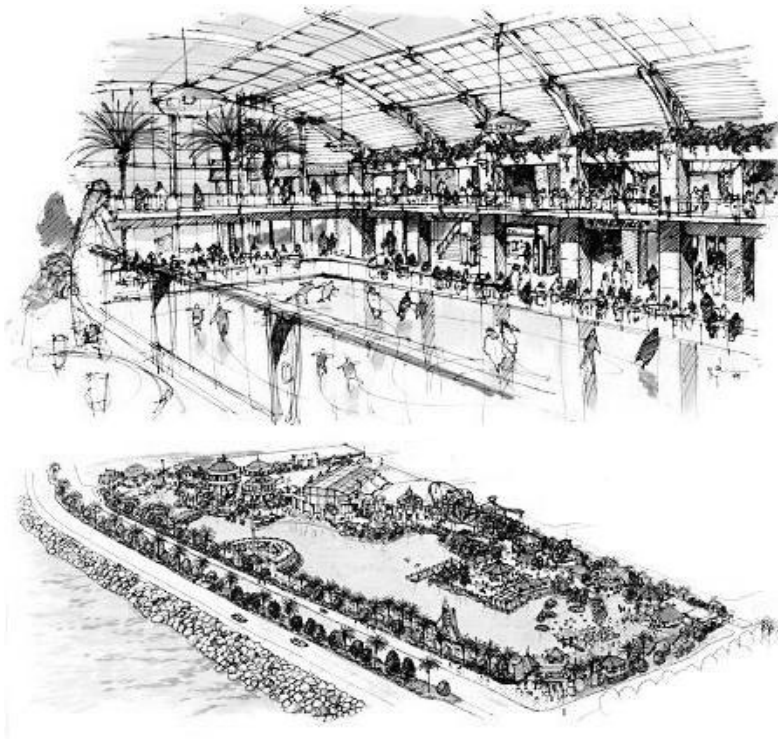


Fig 7-8: Jeddah, Al-Shallal Theme Park. Source: Jeddah Municipality 2006.

The privately developed mega structures developed by the private sector or other projects developed through public-private partnerships have contributed to the creation of a number of sightseeing spots and a wide range of residential, commercial and recreational activities that provide remarkable experiences for those who visit them. Nevertheless, some social commentators in academic and private forums perceive this phenomenon as a disruption of the traditional processes of producing and consuming urban space. They believe that these projects diminish the quality of civic life, insofar as many individuals are excluded from them. As Kirby (2008) indicated in his analysis of similar projects in the USA, such phenomena have been viewed as manifestations of capitalism that worsened the problems of social segregation. As also argued by Davis (1992: 223), the privately developed mega structures with their privately owned and controlled public spaces and amenities can be considered to be 'new repressions in space and movement' designed to defend luxury

lifestyles. Despite the obvious differences between the qualities of different private developments in terms of the usage of public spaces, there are at least two important areas of similarity with regard to public space provision. These are the control and surveillance arrangements imposed by private developers. Overall, we believe that, even if increased private control and surveillance may be considered as a reflection of various urban social problems and a reduced quality of urban life, we should acknowledge the contribution made by private investors towards enhancing the city's image and creating attractive public spheres such as the theme and amusement parks in the Corniche area.

7.2.5 The major public park at city level

On the basis of rational and objective criteria developed by the master plan, a hierarchy of centres was proposed to provide for social needs. These included mosques, shops, open spaces, schools and recreational facilities. In line with these rational planning processes, the allocation of public parks is mainly based on forecasts arrived at through arithmetic computations: these suggest a figure of one hectare for every thousand residents (10 square metres per person). In order to implement these planning criteria and allocate as many public parks as were needed, the master plan suggested that the existing Khuzam Palace Garden should be upgraded, enabling it to serve as a public garden and as a reserved area for Jeddah's Eid prayer ground. This latter covers an area of five hectares along the Makkah Road to the east of the city and incorporates three other large open areas designated as urban parks. Based on the recommendations of the master plans, extensive systems designed to modernize the city have been carried out by the municipality. Most of the areas they cover were developed as public parks and emerged as part of a beautification scheme which was targeted to make Jeddah (as stated by Municipality officials on different occasions) a 'city with a million trees' (Sobahi 1995).

As part of the efforts made by the Municipality to encourage local authorities to take part in the production of public spaces, schoolchildren were asked to participate by planting and landscaping their own neighbourhoods. Furthermore, developers who were assigned the task of implementing large-scale governmental projects, were told by the mayor to build more and more community facilities from parks and monument to lakes and other amenities (Daghistani 1993). On this point, Bokhari (1978) says that, when it came to the provision of public space, the mayor appointed a new team consisting of international

experts in landscape architecture together with some Saudi urban specialists. The team's mission was to design schemes for Jeddah's major parks and to follow up their construction. Despite the large amounts of money spent on the construction of the large urban parks and their walking and recreational areas, such as the charming garden of Khuzam Palace, and the wider beautification programme, these public places have been allowed to deteriorate because of lack of maintenance and the water-shortage problem in a city with a desert climate (Figure 7-9).



Fig 7-9: Jeddah, Khuzam Palace Park. Source: Jeddah Municipality, 2006.

At the district level, the basic functional standards for public space provision are that the allocation of these spaces should satisfy technical requirements of one hectare (2.47 acres) per one thousand residents. Similarly, the design criteria for these spaces were mainly concerned with the objective quality of public space, proposing standards, size, and location from a point of view that was concerned only with physical planning. Despite the fact that these standards stress the importance of the health, safety, comfort and convenience of users, in practice, most of the parks do not satisfy these standards (Al-Shahrani 1992; Hammadi 1993). In the absence of a well developed spatial planning policy for public space provision, tremendous amounts of money have been wasted on providing and constructing scattered urban gardens. These are not designed for public use and do not pay attention to the role of environmental quality concerns which are essential in creating liveable public spaces. These include urban design criteria such as environmental protection, accessibility, convenience, safety, privacy, sociability, natural conservation, vitality, maintenance and control. While these qualities received little attention, the financial and technical context for the construction of these projects received

the highest degree of consideration. Consequently, engineering-oriented designs with primitive plantation practice and lacking in environmental design qualities have been prevalent in the practice of public space provision. This limited scope of application and reduced understanding of urban needs combined with poor management systems to make it difficult either to reach the targets spelled out in policies and plans or to create real, attractive public spaces (Bokhari 1978).

One of the most important issues related to the provision of good quality urban planning practice is that few of the outdoor recreational areas were designed in a way that facilitated the needs of the inhabitants for privacy or provided suitable areas that would allow family members to participate in healthy recreational sports rather than sit and enjoy passive recreation. The lack of public spaces that allow for the separation of family areas from bachelors' spaces deters many families from outdoor recreation, especially women, as they cannot walk or participate in active recreation. Additionally, it has been noted (e.g. Bokhari 1978, Sobahi 1995) and confirmed by our survey that land-use planning also failed to emphasize the importance of children's play areas for various age groups. For that reason, many of the available public parks were not used. Broadly speaking, most of the public spaces and recreational facilities were provided to beautify the city and provide for passive recreation rather than to accommodate the needs of people for active recreational facilities.

7.3 Public space provision within Modern Residential Areas

7.3.1 Land subdivision and building regulations

In Saudi Arabia, early land subdivision regulations for modern residential areas were already in place before the master plans were drawn up. In the late 1930s ARAMCO established its first oil-camp at Dhahran city, which is located in the Sharqiyya Province of the country close to the oil fields (Al-Hathloul 1981). This camp was designed around a peripheral road and subdivided into sub-neighbourhoods by major roads that intersect at the centre, forming a block that contains all necessary community facilities like shopping, schools, police, post office. Thereafter, the gridiron pattern became popular not only for the subdivision of oil-based settlements in al-Sharqiyya, but also in the development of many suburban areas in other parts of the province. The influence of the American gridiron

planning model was also introduced in other cities of Saudi Arabia, especially in the five major urban centres: Riyadh, Jeddah, Dammam, Makkah, and Medina. In 1945, at the behest of King Saud, the government decided to build several housing projects for high ranking governmental employees in Jeddah. One of these projects was the Prince Faisal Residential Compound in al-Sharafeyah district (Bokhari 1978). The subdivision of this district followed a gridiron plan with a hierarchy of streets with widths varying from 10m for access roads to 30m for main streets. Most blocks were rectangular in shape, with dimensions of 100m x 50m, and the typical lot size was 25m x 25m.

Broadly speaking, these projects introduced the large lot and the villa as a dwelling type, with setbacks on all sides. They established a taste and style for the modern neighbourhood. After the precedent of enforcing minimum lot size standards, setback requirements had been established by the roads and building status. The crucial point is that, instead of a minimum lot size of 100 square metres as set in the traditional settlements, these subdivisions were designed to a 400-square-metres scale. In addition, according to the associated planning regulations, setbacks must be built on all sides of each house, in all districts. At the end of the 1960s, these standards came to be applied informally throughout the Kingdom. After the Riyadh master plans were approved in 1973, the Ministry of Municipal and Rural Affairs started to institutionalize these regulations and established guidelines for land subdivision in new residential areas across Saudi Arabia, guidelines that were then declared laws around the country (Alkhedheiri 1998; Al-Otabi 2006).

7.3.2 The grid street layout for land subdivision

As indicated previously, the master plan introduced the universal grid pattern as the basic physical planning concept for land use and land subdivision in new residential areas. The premise was that the grid street system is the most effective and efficient way to accommodate traffic, as it creates maximum access to automobile-dependent residential areas. Based on these convictions, new schemes of residential development with gridiron patterns came to characterize the rapidly developing suburbs. Arterial roads have been designed to facilitate through-movement, and collectors and local roads have been planned to connect different communities. Grid street layouts have their place but not necessarily in suburban residential developments. In Jeddah city, the grid system helps minimize

traffic volume on highways. However, within modern residential areas the multiple intersections of the grid usually result in automobile accidents, noise, and air pollution. Moreover, as new road construction cut through different parts of neighbourhoods, vehicles and pedestrian systems became confused, and under-developed spaces were given over to parking lots or buffer zones. Where cars dominate, the pavement, if there is one, is constantly intruded upon by drive-way space, making strolling in the neighbourhoods difficult (Ford 1999).

From a socio-cultural point of view, while the geographical separation of people into different types of residential environment has magnified the segregation of people by class, disturbing the social order at city level. Similarly, the fragmentation of residential blocks alongside detached buildings not only caused the erosion of the urban and social fabric but also led the way to the creation of monotonous and standardized images for physical structures. In consequence, the role of the streets in the traditional urban life of Jeddah as facilitators of social interaction has been diminished. Moreover, due to the current popular practices of surrounding buildings with costly and uniform walls, and of using streets as extensions of the frontage of residential buildings (which are kept clean by the residents themselves), have been weakened. Accordingly, cleanliness and the maintenance of the street area in front of houses have come to be totally the responsibility of the municipality instead of remaining under the control of residents, as they were in traditional communities (Akbar 1982, Eben-Saleh 2004, Hakim 2007, Ben-Hamouche 2009). In this respect, Bokhari (1978: 348) points out that ‘the neglect of the role of the street has led to an obvious introversion of the residents behind the high walls of their dwellings and subsequently to gradual disappearance of public life and the civic pride of resident in their environments’. As will be explained in greater detail in next chapter, the fragmentation of the urban fabric caused by the construction of grid layouts led to the creation of undefined territories and leftover spaces that caused a depersonalization of city spaces. This, in turn, discouraged social integration and caused the population to withdraw from the public realm (Carruthers 2002; Madanipour 2007).

7.3.3 Plot coverage and set back

The approved land subdivision regulations for residential areas in Jeddah and other Saudi cities specify 60% of the lot areas as building coverage, allowing setback equal to one-fifth

of the width of the street to be reserved for car parking and the drive-way in front of each house, and two metres from the sides and rear of the plot to be set back. Building regulations such as those governing compulsory setbacks and site-coverage limits fostered the construction of freestanding edifices in modern residential areas. While apartment buildings were designated as a building type in medium to high density residential areas, villas were constructed in low-density areas. During our investigation of the modern residential areas, it was found that –as was the case in modern residential areas in western cities – in Jeddah the land-use ordinances and building regulations were not only intended to separate different uses into zones (which made it difficult to integrate a variety of activities within a single area), but also contributed to the segregation of social order and created lifeless residential environments that discourage social interaction. Morphologically, the imposition of new building regulations created what Barnett (2003) refers to as a collection of buildings set in public spaces. From a functional point of view, the setback provisions which helped create detached buildings also exposed them to direct sunlight and heat. Accordingly, as these buildings are dependent on the faultless functioning of air-conditioning systems, both operation and maintenance became expensive.

Spatially, the free-standing buildings which replaced traditional attached housing have increased visual intrusion and destroyed the open spaces between houses by allowing direct opening of windows on all sides. Moreover, anyone who looks at the modern residential areas can easily deduce that the residents' privacy has been impaired by the arrangement of buildings within each subdivision. The height of contemporary buildings with their windows permits residents to look across onto neighbouring dwellings, while open yards encroach upon visual privacy. The absence of visual protection increases animosity between the residents of the same neighbourhood, something that is further influenced by the way buildings are oriented and the distribution of windows and openings. As houses no longer adequately accommodate the heightened need for privacy, householders themselves now taking their own precautions. For example, some inhabitants have been forced to increase the height of the fences around their houses in order to find the privacy they need. Others have introduced screens around the open spaces that surround free-standing buildings; for this, they use light fabrics and metal bars to avoid being overlooked by adjacent buildings (**Figure 7-10**).



Fig 7-10: Jeddah, metal screening of the open space surrounding the free-standing buildings in the study case. These bars have been used to prevent over-looking from neighbouring buildings.

From a socio-cultural point of view, some scholars (e.g. Bokhari 1978; Akbar 1988) have pointed out that the introduction of modern planning principles to Jeddah not only fragmented the city's physical fabric but also assisted in the deterioration of the old concept of 'community', where, as Melvin Webber (cited in Newman 1975: 11) argued, people were 'united by common ethnic background, similarity of pursuit, and physical proximity'. Physical proximity and the ethnic similarity of people with a common set of values encouraged them to share similar needs for their mutual satisfaction. In contrast, in modern residential areas, these values have largely disappeared. Moreover, the urban landscape of Jeddah has changed, and is moving towards an assemblage of free standing buildings clustered in a dissonant miscellany of forms, instead of the compact traditional urban fabric with its physical proximity.

The economic vitality of the country attracted international architects and professionals from western countries in particular, and architectural consulting firms from all over the world. These factors played a peculiar role in the development of new trends in city organisation and building design expression. Accordingly, the assemblage of many styles and an overabundance of modern exotic forms, such as the glass surfaces of building facades came into being over time. In consequence, the townscape has come to lack the attractiveness and identity previously offered by the architectural features of the traditional multi-story buildings. While the contemporary buildings demonstrate a concern for aesthetics rather than fastidiousness over privacy, many attractive villas and gardens which could contribute to the enhancement of the urban environment remain completely hidden behind the monotonous walls that surround their properties.

7.3.4 Public space within modern residential areas

As indicated above, the application of modern land-use and building regulations not only prescribed standards for layout and building types, but also guaranteed numerous aspects of architectural forms, details and materials. The professional preoccupation of city planners with technical abstractions in the built environment and the idea of reinforcing the grid system for land subdivision have also created standardized public spaces within modern residential areas. Accordingly, public space networks follow the typical rectilinear pattern in order to divide up land. This means (see Carmona, Heath et al. 2003), that the block came to define the space network, a system which is made up principally of streets and occasionally public parks or empty lots for children's play areas.

According to subdivision regulations, the street became the primary public arena that dominated the public space network. Different streets with different widths were provided for traffic and access to the private lots. In most cases, the main streets are wide enough to allow vehicle movement and provide minimal footpath margins. Moreover, street boundaries are defined by private use of the spaces reserved for setback as well as by their suitability at the level on which building structures and their facades are consolidated. In many cases, residents have utilized the immediate space or landscape with materials that obstruct the footpath and negatively affect the character of the street, the continuity of pedestrian routes and the quality of pavements and landscapes (**Figure 7-11**).

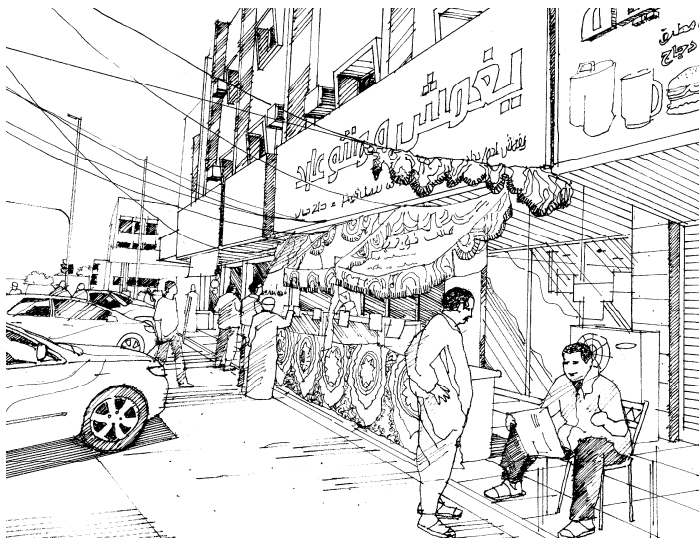


Fig 7-11: Jeddah, cars dominating linear public spaces and streets in al-Salamah district.

Based on land subdivision regulations, the professional cadre of the municipality requires 33% of the subdivided land for low to medium residential density that needs to be reserved for streets and public amenities such as parks, playgrounds, mosques and schools. The land subdivision guidelines also require that villa and apartment buildings should be the dominant building types for residential areas, whereas apartment buildings with linear commercial facilities on their ground floors can only be permitted along the major traffic arteries whose width exceeds 30 meters. Part of the problem with these guidelines is that they appear to be thrown together in a rather disorganised and unstructured way. As explained by Punter (1998: 135) in his analysis of the residential design guidelines in San Francisco, the general theme of these regulations 'is authoritarian and prescriptive, a set of statements about what is acceptable, often culminating in the statement this pattern must be preserved.' In general terms, public space allocation within this context is based on the result of the decisions made by the officials and professionals of the municipality, who were involved directly in the approval process of land subdivisions for these areas.

For a land subdivision to be approved, developers and their designers need to confirm the prescribed measures laid down by the municipality planning review board. It should be noted that, although the percentage of areas required for public spaces is clearly stated in the land subdivision regulations, it is not very often respected. Consequently, this reduces the desirable amount of public space for recreational purposes. Moreover, although the municipality of Jeddah tried hard to enhance the appearance of residential areas, most of the neighbourhoods that were constructed lack attractive spatial characteristics, and most of the technically generated public spaces within them have not been adequately distributed to satisfy users or respond to the local environment and overall context. Looking carefully at the approved subdivisions of modern residential areas in the city, one can see that the majority of the public spaces are provided with a geometrical shape that is repeated many times throughout these areas (**Figure 7-12**).

These spaces not only tend to be isolated from their surroundings by asphalt streets with narrow footpaths, but they are also seldom used because they are positioned in residual areas where the residents need them least. In brief, the advent of the land use ordinance and building regulations led to the emergence of new residential developments in Saudi cities that do not appreciate local context. The separation of city into components such as

land use categories, the square footage of recreational developments, public space acreage per capita, are all abstract calculations that encouraged social segregation and do nothing to help in the creation of an appropriate residential environment where social interaction is encouraged. By pushing for an urban form based on cars rather than people, these planning and design regulations for modern residential areas tend to discourage what Talen (2008) called the physical conditions of the pedestrian-oriented city and its social diversity. Such a misconception of how best to express the performance of public space which is not based upon a thorough appraisal of the local context has changed the nature of these spaces from areas embedded in the social fabric of the city to mere parts of more impersonal and fragmented urban environments (Madanipour 2010).

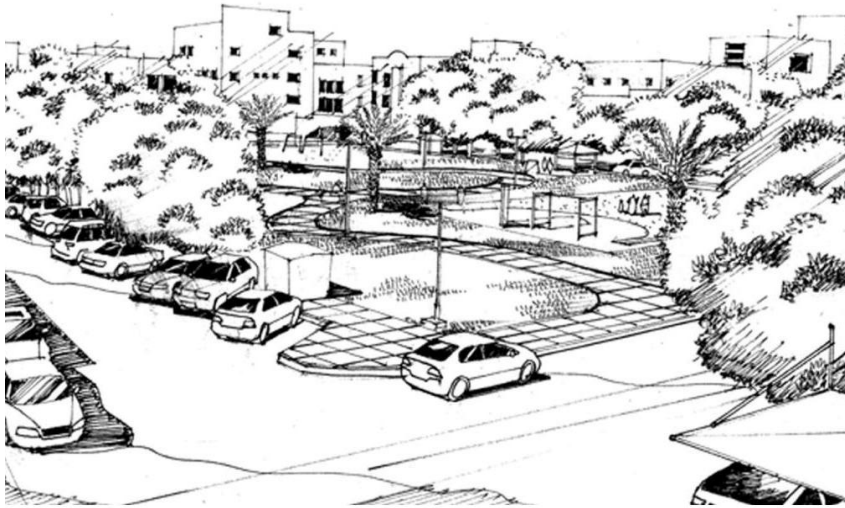


Fig 7-12: Jeddah, typical public space within modern residential areas.

7.4 Recent initiatives for improving public space quality

7.4.1 Planning standard for land subdivision

In order to bring about spatial harmony and social equality in response to the dehumanized abstraction of modernism created by land subdivision and building regulations, in the early 1980s a number of urban designers developed self-contained communities in an attempt to reflect both traditional urban design principles and modern aspirations and techniques. Inevitably, some of the best examples were high-cost projects; their urban designers were consciously commissioned to design projects which not only fulfilled functional and aesthetic requirements, but also adhered to the socio-cultural norms and aspirations of two

governmental organisations (Abu-Ghazze 1997). The Riyadh Development Authority (ADA) developed schemes for the employees of both the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and the Diplomatic Quarter. As another example, the Royal Commission for Jubail and Yanbu (RCJY) also developed schemes for these two industrial cities. These areas were prepared to provide a suitable atmosphere and the privacy residents required, so as to create a social affinity between the inhabitants, while reflecting various aspects of the traditional Islamic community (Eben-Saleh 2001).

The establishment of these schemes can be viewed as a good precedent and an indication of alternative possibilities for the prevailing land subdivision regulations for Saudi urban specialists, to help them develop other schemes for future residential areas with the aim of developing the existing building regulations. These projects and others throughout the different cities of Saudi Arabia with similar urban design arrangements raise a number of questions. How can we change contemporary attitudes to urban design practice and encourage the creation of similar projects which respond to local socio-cultural and spatial qualities? Are these efforts about creating an ideal residential environment that people in different communities will want to live in?

In 1992, in order to tackle the issues of modern residential areas, the Ministry of Municipal and Rural Affairs hired two local consultants to prepare models of new neighbourhoods. Planners and urban designers assigned by MOMRA began to analyse both traditional and contemporary design for several existing housing schemes before proposing a prototype design for new residential communities. The MOMRA proposals were basically derived from an evaluation of existing conditions in order to define the planning problems arising from established zoning. These proposals are equipped with urban and architectural guidelines which help planners, urban designers and architects to develop a scheme that conforms to privacy and conserves cultural norms. They would take many forms such as a villa, a courtyard house or an L-shaped plan, the only restriction being to adhere to the rules established by the community planners, with regard to the matter of privacy. When one of the planning officials belonging to the General Directory of Urban Planning in the Jeddah Municipality was asked to what extent he thought these two proposals were applicable to different Saudi cities, he replied that

It is not wise to generalize and to suggest that these schemes should be adopted by all municipalities in the kingdom. Geographical and cultural differences need to be carefully addressed. The transition from the traditional neighbourhoods to modern residential areas took place in a short period of time because of the steady population growth that was witnessed by the major cities of the Kingdom. When urbanisation started to speed up, the lack of national professionals at the time forced municipal officials to resort to Western planning and design standards, and this led to the emergence of modern residential neighbourhoods. This, in turn, has caused many dilemmas for the municipalities, especially with regard to safety, privacy, or public security. Thus, we need to evaluate carefully the appropriateness and the consequences of the application of design guidelines for future residential areas before we approve them as urban law or building regulations. Moreover, in order to avoid expected and unexpected adverse reactions to some specialists, who have asked to return to our historical cities to solve the issues relating to existing modern neighbourhoods, urban planners and designers need to conduct intensive empirical studies in order to assess the existing situation through an understanding of people's opinions and their attitudes towards planning and design proposals. Whatever alternatives professionals may be suggested should address the disadvantages of the existing grid system of residential land subdivision, while acknowledging the traditional urban design principles of historical towns and at the same time reflecting the aspirations of citizens, coping with the spirit of the times (Interview 2008, translated from Arabic).

Although there was growing concern to improve the quality of public life within modern residential areas through the establishment of new design schemes and regulations, the extent of this concern does not seem to have effectively changed the current situation of public spaces within this context. This can be attributed to several factors. One of the most important of these factors is that some decision makers in other ministries were sceptical of the role of the MOMRA schemes in creating more secure environments. There was also a legal challenge, and controversy was provoked by some city officials who attacked these schemes and noted that mandating such a concept of neighbourhood would create public spaces that were more derelict than inviting. As they argued, local authorities cannot easily provide security and maintenance for these areas, as they are not accessible for refuse trucks and other service vehicles. Moreover, these schemes were challenged by land speculators, who believed that the construction of such subdivisions is not economically feasible and that the layout in general would not satisfy public wishes to have their property located along wide, straight roads instead of on dead-end and irregular streets.

Recently, MOMRA has advocated the traditional concept of neighbourhood gates to be applied to existing residential areas, by proposing traffic calming measures, such as speed

bumps and roundabouts. This helps to make traffic move more slowly on local streets, minimizing through traffic and converting grids into virtual cul-de-sacs in which traffic barriers make travel along a local street impossible for more than a block or two. The promise is that, as pointed out by Wendell Cox (2005), a key feature of cul-de-sacs is that they cannot handle through traffic, and thus they create a safer environment for children and pedestrians. The fit between this idea and the contemporary social structure of city residents suggests that, although such ideas are currently a less common practice and play a limited role in the present residential areas in the city, it could well become more widespread if the municipality chose to enforce it.

7.4.2 Design guidelines for public space provision

Over the last few years, Saudi Arabia has seen an increased public awareness of the need to upgrade the living standard of residential areas where the quality of public space is an important factor. Furthermore, the recent focuses on the quality of public spaces and the recognition of different dimensions of public space provision have become important issues. To tackle the issues of urban development management and public space management in 2006, MOMRA disseminated two manuals for urban planning and design criteria to be applied to recreational areas and public space, developed by the AFM Consultants Office. The aim of these manuals is to address public space issues and enhance the knowledge and capacities of local authorities and their partners by improving the quality of these spaces. The manuals classified public space into five categories based on the ideas of population density and catchment areas for public spaces. These are: city level public spaces, boundaries of local branches of the municipality, districts, neighbourhoods, and building clusters. Although the new regulatory planning system (set out in the manual) for the design of public space mainly focused on how to create place-responsive design principles, many of the guidelines tend to be prescriptive rules that represent the intentions of professionals and do not consider the diverse human requirements, experiences, life styles and attitudes within different cities and communities around the country.

Paradoxically, such a manual can result in an increase of procedural rules to achieve what Punter (2007) calls ‘substantive deregulation’. Additionally – as explained in section 6.3.4 in the previous chapter – for such a system to succeed it requires enforcement and a

restructuring of the way public spaces are managed with more focus on a ‘cross-sectoral approach’ with a less prescriptive method (De-Magalhaes and Carmona 2006). Moreover, although the recent policies of MOMRA, which call for the interplay of national and local responses and actions, have had their critics and although there is still a long way to go, these efforts have highlighted the need for a broader understanding of public space and have also put the practice of public space provision in a better position to compete for policy attention.

In a conversation about future initiatives with the head of the Design Open Space Areas Directorate in Jeddah municipality, he pointed out that his department plans to establish a spatial strategy for public space development and to make collaborative and partnership arrangements with other stakeholders from the public and private sectors, as well as local community organizations. So far, they have reserved 50 undeveloped plots of land around the city in order to turn them into public parks, and they are now calling on local philanthropists to sponsor and fund the development of public spaces. The municipality had completed 14 designs for specialized parks that will vary between 5,000 and 7,000 square meters in size, with the possibility of establishing bigger spaces according to location and need. Moreover, he indicated that his department would display the designs publicly in the coming months to give a chance for private investors to choose the location and design they wanted to sponsor.

In summary, the emergence of urban spaces as a major policy issue has been widely acknowledged as an important characteristic of contemporary urban planning and design practice. Today, there is also growing concern about public spaces and the public realm on the part of city authorities and non-governmental organisations. The production and maintenance of these spaces has become an important issue in Saudi Arabia and elsewhere as population densities within urban and suburban areas have dramatically increased. Some of these ideas came from the professionals of the Jeddah Municipality, officials of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Makkah Province and some academic staff of King Abdul-Aziz University, who advocated the principle of community centres and suggested that the design of urban spaces within modern residential areas should be high quality, holistic, and conformable to socio-cultural requirements.

7.5 Conclusion

This chapter has aimed to show how the rational-scientific basis of the contemporary planning, design and construction process created an unresponsive residential environment and useless urban spaces. New building regulations such as building setback – particularly the use of separation and zoning – put an end to fragmented urban spaces and resulted in the transformation of the socio-spatial fabric, thereby creating high levels of social polarization and displacement. This in turn radically changed the quality of the public realm within the city and its modern residential areas. Throughout the debate surrounding the various stances taken about the public realm, dependence on the technicality of physical planning, which leads to rigidity in the production process in modern residential areas and public spaces, has come to be considered as the root of this problem. Therefore, we should not naively believe in physical determinism, assuming that technical and schematic perspectives are enough to address the complexity of social and urban problems. What is needed to raise the design quality of public spaces is, as is stressed in the literature (e.g. Lange 2005, Madanipour 2010, punter 2010), a practical framework that responds to people's objective and subjective demands and recognises the spatial, socio-cultural, and political dimensions of public space provision and neighbourhood design.

Chapter Eight

The materialization of public spaces in Jeddah

Chapter 8

The materialisation of public space within modern residential areas in Jeddah

8.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, we have examined how the advent of the master plan of Jeddah sparked remarkable questions about the compatibility of technically-generated open spaces with their users and context. From the discussion, it was clear that the dependence on technicality of the master plan led to rigidity in the production process of public spaces in the city. This chapter is organized into four major sections. The first section aims to provide a brief review of the spatial characteristic of the residential areas selected as case studies, illustrating various actions that took place in order to design and construct various public spaces within this context. The second section discusses the quality of these spaces, showing the differences in public space provision between the different case studies. In the final section, we will focus on the implementation of current views on how can the practice of public space provision within modern residential areas in Jeddah be made more effective?

8.2 The materialization of public space in the case studies

As indicated in the previous chapter, the fragmented layouts of the modern residential areas have increased feelings of isolation and the perception of people being stranded in their own neighborhoods. In high density areas such as al-Sharafeyah district, the heterogeneity of residents and the huge size of the district together with the undefined territories of public spaces make the dwellers feel that they have less control over the public spaces adjacent to their houses and, therefore, the social environment of their district has been severely degraded. This in turn has forced them to withdraw from the

community. Similarly, in low density areas, because of the lack of semi-private open space and the dispersion of buildings, residents lack a sense of community and responsibility. They feel unable to cooperate with their neighbors in managing areas of public open space. For the residents, by not being able to find a meaning for community in contemporary residential areas, they have not been able to come together with their neighbors to share in the creation of collective resources such as the construction and maintenance of public open spaces. In the following pages, these issues will be explored using different examples of public spaces in the study cases.

8.2.1 Public spaces in al-Sharafeyah district

Al-Sharafeyah district is located on the north periphery of the old town of Jeddah. It is one of the biggest districts in Jeddah with total area of 372 hectare and a population of 83,507 inhabitants with population density equal to 224.66 people per hectare (Jeddah-Municipality 2004). The boundary of the district is not a mere administrative line. It is constituent of four major streets: Palestine Road on the northern edge, al-Madenah Road on the west, al-Amir Fahad Street on the east, and King Khalid Street on the south. Moreover, the district is also divided into four sections by two major roads: Khalid Bin al-Waleed running from the north to the south of the district, and King Abdullah Street which runs from the east to the west of the district. In this district, there was no constraint in relation to the topography since the terrain is flat (**Figure 8-1**).

The urbanisation process of al-Sharafeyah district reflects both the informal and formal growth patterns. While most of the district area subdivision is based on the common grid system, one part of the district was developed as informal settlement. The informal section of the al-Sharafeyah district which is located on the south east of the area was developed with an irregular street pattern. This section has a character of squatter settlements developed as an extension to previously developed informal settlements after the demolition of the traditional city wall in 1947. This entire section has a compacted mass of buildings, heavily populated with densities varying from 200 to 800 persons per hectare according to their proximity to the traditional town, irregular and narrow streets 1.5 to 5 metres wide, traditionally most of the buildings were one or two storey brick structures of

extremely poor quality, small plots of land, lacking municipal services, and the quality of their living environment was abysmal compared with that of the traditional town.

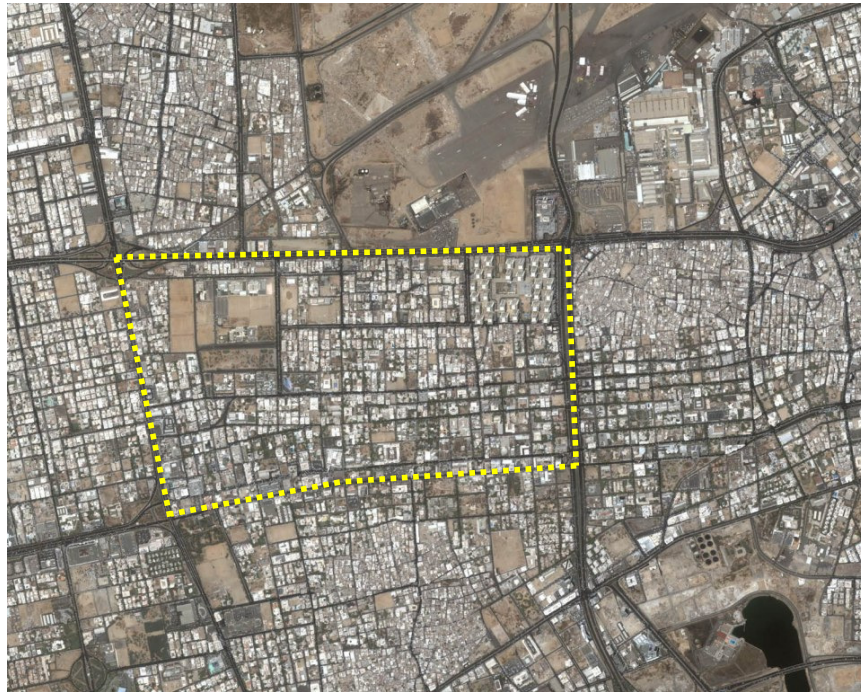


Fig 8-1: Jeddah, al-Sharafeyah district. Source: Jeddah Municipality 2005.

However, in the 1950s and 1960s government intervention prevented informal settlements in order to develop a new land subdivision and housing projects to house high income urban dwellers. It was the United Nation experts who established the first planning office in Jeddah and defined the urban configuration and plot subdivision of this area. Therefore, the formal sections of al-Sharafeyah are laid out primarily on a grid street system, with local thoroughfares running on straight north-south and east-west routes. While the width of east-west streets was 10 metres the north-south Streets were 15 metres in width (**Figure 8-2**). The housing consists of two storey detached villas and apartment buildings ranging from four storeys within the residential quarter and up to six storeys along the major roads. The typical lot size was 25x25 metres and most blocks were 50x 50 metres.

The impact of the construction of the Royal Palace and the project of Prince Faysal Compound in al-Sharafeyah area played a significant role in fostering the development of the district. Prince Faysal Compound which was built to house high income people was perceived by Jeddah families as a symbol of a modern way of life and the government

newspapers helped to communicate that impression. This compound was the only housing project to use contemporary building material and technology and bears the image of Californian suburban residential neighbourhoods. The residents of the traditional quarters were both impressed and shocked when they moved to the area and they started to dislike their own traditional neighbourhoods since no attempt was made to modernise and provide amenities and services to these quarters.

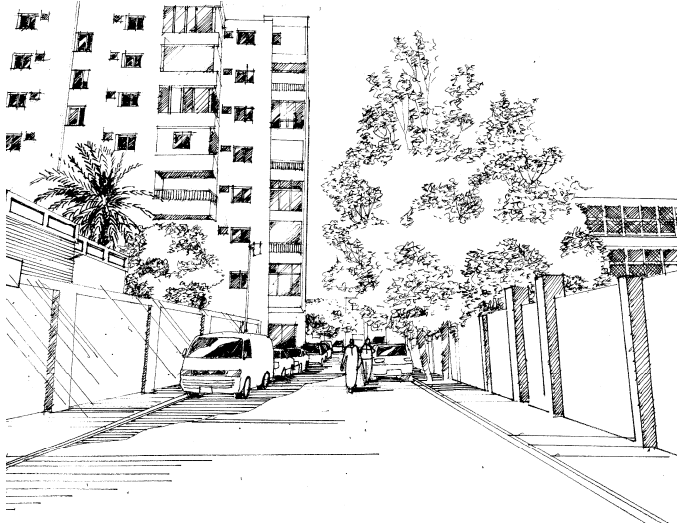


Fig 8-2: Jeddah, east-west narrow roads in al-Sharafeyah.

Broadly speaking, the project acted as an official decree on how a contemporary neighbourhood and housing units should be built. In this manner, the government laid down building regulations for the new residential areas of the city. As stated earlier, this compound was originally built for high income people and educated employees of the government as well as other experts and professional groups. These groups and the civil servants were highly respected by the society of Jeddah. Therefore, imitating their way of life was seen as desirable by the majority of ordinary people. The grid as a street pattern and the villa as a dwelling type were perceived as the expression of efficiency, progress, aesthetics, civilisation and the preferred lifestyle. Consequently, a huge number of native families moved from the traditional areas to live in Al-Sharafeyah district or to the new similar districts (Jenaideb 1993; Sijeeni 1995).

The subdivision of al-Sharafeyah district was spatially arranged to encourage the growth of Jeddah to the north and was further emphasized by the late 1950s and early 1960s by the creation of other subdivisions for the adjacent lands (seven kilometres away from the traditional town) as residential areas along Madinah road. In the 1970s, after the

implementation of the first and the second master plans for Jeddah which called for a longitudinal (north-south) expansion of the circulation systems, Jeddah's urban expansion established other residential districts close to al-Sharafeyah. The new street network divided the northern city area into reasonably-sized neighbourhoods with sufficient access to necessary community facilities and public services (Bukhari 1983). During this time the government started to develop the al-Sharafeyah district through Land Grants Programme, introduced in the 1970s, through which pieces of the subdivision of the district were granted to Saudi citizens completely free of charge. During the 1980s high rise housing was constructed in the southern section of the district through the Ministry of Housing and Public Works (**Figure 8-3**). The housing units which were mostly in the form of apartments within high-rise buildings have been occupied since 1991 (Al-Ghamdi 1996). While the magnitude of high-rise housing projects created high density residential quarters within the district, the existing single family housing units occupied larger land lots to create lower density residential quarters.



Fig 8-3: Jeddah, The rush housing project in al-Sharafeyah.

At the present time, the district presents reasonable levels of urban services and community facilities. The major streets of the district have developed dynamic retail activities and high-rise office buildings to take advantage of the facilities offered by the major arteries of traffic. Among these commercial ribbon developments are the expensive retail activities along Palestine Road, Al-Medina Road, and Khalid bin al-Walled Road. The streets in the district are paved and the majority of the housing stock has already been built with

permanent material. Some of them have reached a high quality of construction through a gentrification process; some of them have been degraded. Currently the population density in the district is about 224.66 people per hectare. While many initial residents have sold their properties and moved to recently established districts in the north of the city many affluent families and a wide range of people live in al-Sharafeyah. Some of these people work in manual employment such as construction, as well as professionals and employees with varied levels of income. This can be observed through the significant contrast in the levels of dwelling consolidation (Jeddah-Municipality 2006).

Broadly speaking, the limited public space allocated for recreational purposes made the streets the prime public space for the residents. This can be attributed to the fact that little importance was given to public spaces at the foundation of these residential areas. The available public spaces have been provided by the municipality after the district was occupied by its residents. This happened by purchasing the empty lots in the subdivision for use as public parks or playgrounds. In most cases the available public spaces are found unlinked and dispersed throughout the district. The major streets of the district have developed dynamic retail strips and high-rise office buildings to take advantage of the facilities offered by the major arteries of traffic. In general, in al-Sharafeyah there are five types of public space. These are the streets, public parks, squares and leftover areas such as the lifted areas as a protection zone for bridges and median islands for major dual carriageways.

Public space in marginalized areas

Despite the fact that the municipality attempted to tackle the lack of public space in this district by acquiring some undeveloped land designated for this purpose, their efforts were not well rewarded. They were obliged to use marginal areas and finish them with some landscape elements and children's playground equipment. These areas now form a residual space located in the northern margin of the district close to heavy traffic and noise – somewhere nobody wants to visit (**Figure 8-4**). This example gives us clear evidence of how the allocation of space and the type of construction material used is usually determined by municipality professionals based on their technical knowledge and expertise.

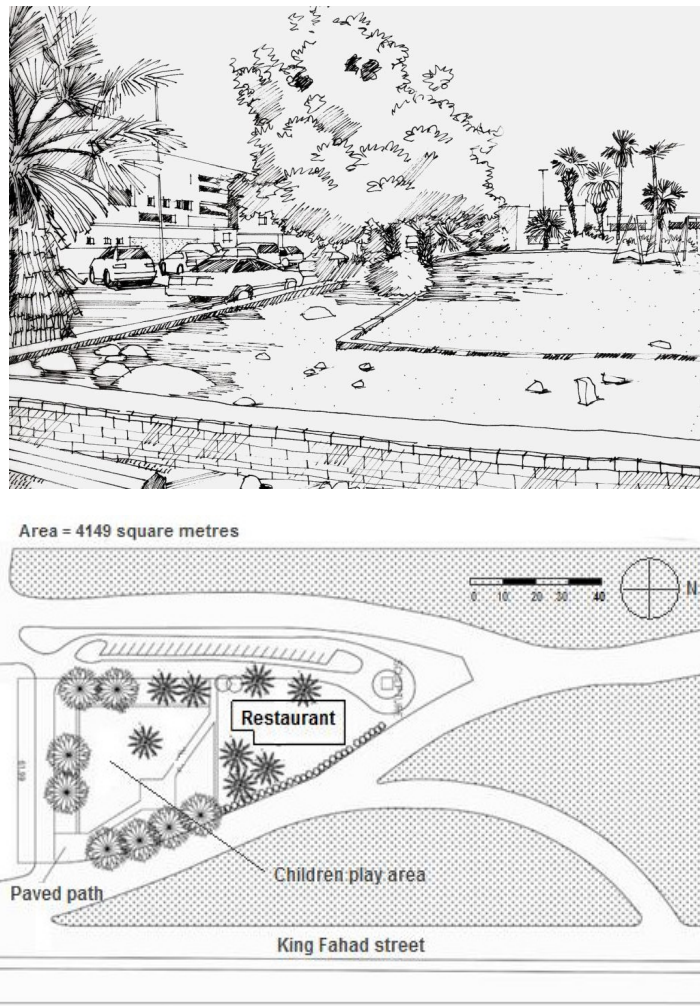


Fig 8-4: Public spaces in marginalized areas are often desolate places. Jeddah: al-Sharafeyah district.

As providers and regulators of public space, municipal officials and professionals decide what should be provided, when and where. It was clear from our interviews with residents that their role in determining the outcome of the construction process was minimal. Consequently, even if municipal constructions are of high quality, they tend to be disregarded by residents, who recognize that their outdoor environment has been designed in a way that does not respond to their actual needs and expectations. A visual survey of public spaces within the residential clusters throughout this district indicates that, in constructing these spaces the municipality and their contractors usually surround the space with concrete pavements, plant trees and grass, set up irrigation systems, install playground equipment and swings, construct pedestrian paths using tiles, provide concert benches for adults, and set up-lighting. It should be noted that the lack of identification with physical space on the part of residents has influenced the way they perceive these spaces, since they

think that they have no meaningful representation to reveal their aspirations and expectations for an attractive urban setting. Consequently, the construction and landscaping of observed public spaces initiated by the municipality have declined in quality.

Apartment Towers Park

As noted above, during 1980s, the government constructed a large-scale housing project in the southern section of al-Sharafeyah district through the Ministry of Housing and Public Works. The design of the project was based on the concept of the ‘superblock’. All buildings are identical in term of design so it is difficult to discern any differences. Within this housing project there is a central, rectangular-shaped public space covering an area of 20,800 square metres, one of the areas on which this study draws (**Figure 8.5**).

The design features were used to achieve an inward orientation of the space with high enclosing walls (high-rise buildings) and blank facades together with central access. Moreover, this space resembles a formal park with symmetrical relationships between its different parts. The rigidity of the axial organization of buildings, the arrangement of plant materials, and the uniformity of access routes and pathways signify harmony, in sharp contrast to the chaotic residential areas in the south of the project region. In general, these features – as argued by Banerjee and Loukaitou-Sideris (1992) in their analysis of similar public spaces in Los Angeles – seem to encourage solitude and meditation rather than spontaneous human activities. To ensure safety in the project through the separation of pedestrians and cars, access roads were laid out following a cul-de-sac or collector loops. Although this space is not car-oriented, since it acts as a traffic calming device, access by car is possible.

Our field observation also indicates that, although the central park provides users with a relatively high quality environment, the experience of pedestrians can become unpleasant. This can be attributed to several factors. Among these is the lack of meaningful variety in the design of the apartment towers, which look exactly the same from all angles. This has given the park a monotonous visual appearance. It was intended by the designers of this project that the uniformity of the apartment towers would enrich the liveability of the park.

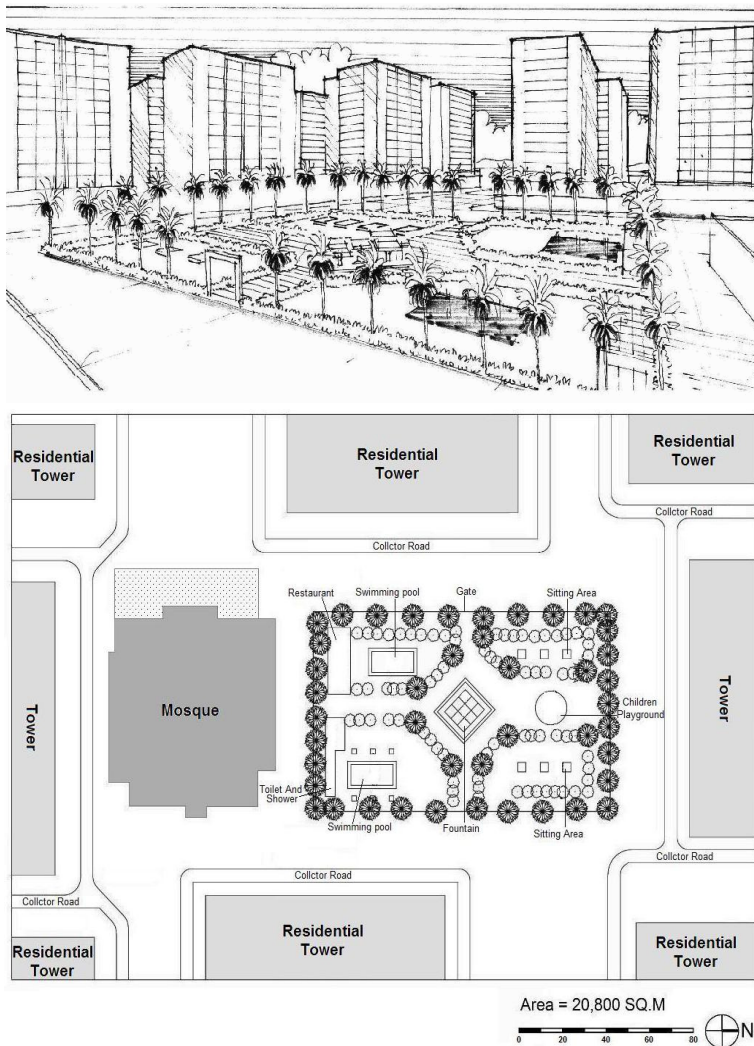


Fig 8-5: Jeddah, monotonous visual appearance of an apartment tower park in al-Sharafeyah.

As indicated in a similar observation in American cities (e.g. Newman 1972), because the relationship between the park and the tower buildings is not clearly identified, the park becomes an open congregation area controlled by no particular group. From a social point of view, the ethnic heterogeneity of the residents of the multi-storey apartment buildings played a significant role in reducing social interaction in terms of spontaneous stationary activities such as socializing in communal spaces. To tackle this issue, and in an effort to protect the nearby outdoor areas from the sun heat, the residents of one of the tower buildings shaded the an area next to the park with attractive pergola. This direct physical intervention helped, to a certain extent, in symbolically provides identification for the area and create a social gathering place especially at the holy month of Ramadan (**Figure 8-6**).

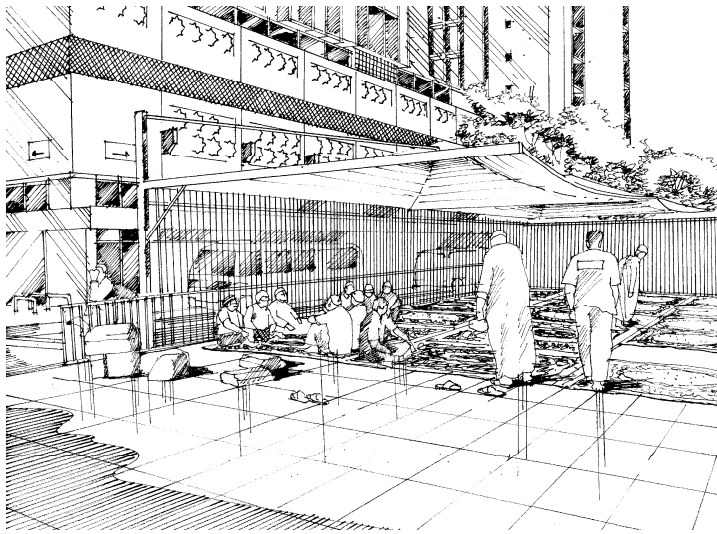


Fig 8-6: Jeddah, Residents' direct physical action for improving the quality of outdoor areas in al-Sharafeyah.

Our field observation also revealed that the anti-social behaviour of the users of outdoor areas is considered one of the major problems with this urban setting. Due to the lack of any natural surveillance of the surrounding outdoor areas together with the high density and heterogeneity of the inhabitants, the park and the spaces that lie adjacent to the apartment towers become spaces given over to anti-social behaviour. The detailed accounts given by the residents clearly indicate that fear of crime is a major contributor to the way they perceive and use the central park, or the outdoor spaces in general. One of the residents, for example, cited the blind areas and the dark places within the project site, and these along with the deteriorating pathways, which lack natural surveillance or patrol security guards, and the socially mixed nature of the inhabitants, all bear a direct relationship to the inhabitants' fear of crime. These findings are not unique to this area but are supported by findings from a fairly extensive literature, which show that fear and insecurity are major factors that discourage people gathering in outdoor places (Carmona et al. 2003).

Interviews with the management authority indicate that the high density of the housing project makes it difficult for them to distinguish residents from outsiders. This in turn fosters criminal and anti-social behaviour such as vandalism, especially in the blind areas of the project site. Additionally, he indicated that the management authority experiences problems with the parking habits of residents, many of whom use the public spaces or park on the pavements. In most cases, such behaviour resulted in a decline in safety measures

and reduced the amount of social space available. Moreover, our observation reveals that lack of maintenance is one of the major issues of this housing project. Limited financial resources to fund the maintenance process and an absence of effective management for outdoor areas, together with the prevailing social atmosphere have all resulted in the deterioration of the park and nearby outdoor areas.

Linear commercial public space

In al-Sharafeyah district there is a common attitude towards public areas adjacent to commercial developments. Although there are numerous places for the public to use for recreation, such as the pathway along the ribbon commercial development of the main roads, these places have been taken over by passers-by (**Figure 8-7**). The undefined territories of these places have resulted in a conflict between those who use them, and the occupiers of the adjacent residential buildings, who believe their privacy is in danger from the users. Such public spaces have been given over to workers and street vendors. Broadly, the potential of public spaces has not been maximized for the purposes of social interaction. The principles of designing neighbourhoods that can contribute to a high level of community interaction are totally ignored. The stark reality of the situation was exacerbated by the straitened financial limitations, hard administrative facts, and an irresponsible attitude on the part of residents towards public environments. All these factors have resulted in the deterioration of public spaces within this district as well as in outdoor places in other districts in Jeddah.



Fig 8-7: Jeddah, Linear commercial public spaces in al-Sharafeyah.

8.2.2 Public spaces in al-Salamah district

Al-Salamah district is located in the north of Jeddah. It is one of the biggest districts in Jeddah with an area of 693 hectares and a population of 90,000 inhabitants with a population density equal to 129.94 persons per hectare (Jeddah-Municipality 2006). The district is enclosed by four major arteries: Medinah Road on the eastern edge, Prince Sultan on the western edge, Heraa Street on the northern edge and Sari Street on the southern edge. The area of the district is mainly flat terrain and does not have drastic topographical changes. Therefore the design of the settlement adapts the gridiron straight street pattern. The subdivision of al-Salamah district was developed by a private owner called Ba-Salamah and an estate agent called al-Howaish (**Figure 8-8**).

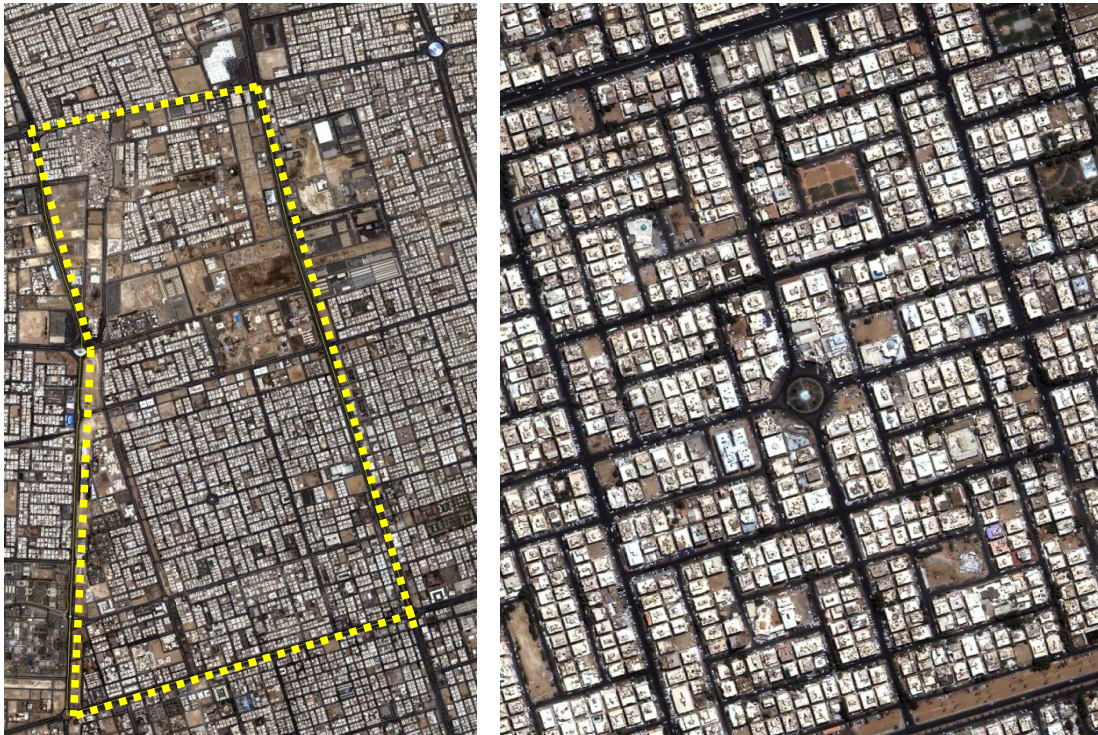


Fig 8-8: Jeddah, al-Salamah district. Source: Jeddah Municipality 2005.

In Jeddah, once land is purchased the private developed or estate agent submits a subdivision application to the Municipality to be examined by the Department of Planning and Development. After the approval of the subdivision by the Municipality, the date of sale of the subdivided land is decided by the estate agent. The principal concern of the Municipality when it is prepared is to establish the primary street right of way, plot size

and land usage as specified by the master plan. After the approval of the subdivision, plots of land are marked out and the main streets paved, to afford prospective clients a preview of how the subdivision will look. Then purchasers of the plots obtain the title deeds for their land from the Ministry of Justice. It is interesting to look at the morphology of the district. The layout was designed by professionals with a completely different pattern in relation to the grid pattern of al-Sharafeyah district. The introduction of new forms can be seen in the creation of new urban areas and public parks and squares. This is as a result of the modernist influence in the city that took place around the 1970s, and the creation of new streets called boulevards within the boundary of the district instead of the previous narrow grid street pattern of al-Sharafeyah district. According to the subdivision of the district, about 33% of the total land area was allocated for streets and community facilities as a compulsory land dedication as stated in the land development policy.

As is the case in the modern residential areas of the new periphery, the housing in al-Salamah district consists of two storey detached villas and apartment buildings ranging from two to five storeys. The typical lot size is 20x30 metres and most blocks are 60x 180 metres. The district was laid out in a rectangular grid system, with rectangular and square lots. Such development consists of parallel alignments, simple and geometrically shaped patterns of streets which provided for adequate vehicle movement with width ranges from 10 to 20 metres. The architecture is distinctly American in style and built according to zoning regulations that stipulate distances from the street, detached rather than attached buildings. The regulations were changed in 1985 to allow mixed use buildings along the main streets when their width exceeded 30 metres. These regulations attracted private sector investment such as the development of unorganised retail activities which appeared in the form of extensive ribbon developments along the major road surrounding the district and throughout the wide local roads within the district. As Daghistani (1993) points out that the development of ribbon development resulted in traffic congestion and a diffusion of retail services in an unorganised way and reflects a series of individual decisions without clear planning guidelines from the Municipality.

Broadly speaking, the district became part of the city of Jeddah as a result of land subdivision and came to the market through land speculation in the mid-1970s. The district was created after the construction of the major roads in the northern part of the city such as al-Madinah Road. At that time there was no provision for services. Accordingly, the plots

of the district were sold at very low prices to public sectors employees and those working for Saudi airlines and airports in particular. Initially many plots were not occupied and sporadic development began in the early 1980s in the form of detached villas in accordance with the zoning regulations (Sijeeni 1995).

The new dwellers acquired the plot and built their dwelling through hiring construction companies. An older resident who used to work as the previous General Director of Planning in the Ministry of Planning (*Abdul-hammed Darkly*) affirms that in the first years of al-Salamah district not many houses were built with temporary materials, most people built one or two rooms with brick and concrete and then moved in. After that many villas were erected along the major roads. Since then many of the villas have been transformed into apartment buildings as a result of the changing building regulations which allowed apartment buildings to be erected along the major roads. Accordingly, many of the little houses or villas which were initially built have been transformed and consolidated. Furthermore, the district has been gentrified and middle class families have arrived.

During its urban consolidation different community facilities and public services have been introduced. The district lacked drainage and a sewer system for a long period. Nowadays, after more than 35 years most of the buildings are consolidated with modern materials and the district is no longer located in the periphery. As in other modern districts in Jeddah there are dwellings fully constructed with high quality finishes and a very small number of dwellings with low rates of consolidation. Due to increased demand for residential units, which resulted in land speculation, prices for houses and lots have increased drastically. Today, the district is heavily populated and recent dwellers of this district are very diverse, working in different occupations. The area is now characterised by a mixture of dwelling types. The commercial development along major streets attracts many people to live in this district who work in informal activities such as construction and maintenance services. In the district there are also many professionals and employees with middle incomes. This variation in income level can be observed through the significant contrast in the levels of dwelling consolidation.

In relation to spaces for urban facilities, there are many empty lots. Until very recently some of these lots were used for football fields. Most of the open spaces within the residential clusters are however neglected. Some of these are spaces which this thesis

draws on to explore the existing state of public spaces within modern residential areas in Jeddah city. The visual survey of the type of public spaces in this district indicates that compliance with the open space requirement of the land-subdivision regulations was evident in the layout of the district, where there was a generous intention for the allocation of public spaces within residential blocks in accessible locations. Unlike the situation in al-Sharafeyah district, in al-Salamah these public spaces reduce block density and produce a wider organization of urban forms. Broadly speaking, most public spaces were located in a central area within the residential clusters, which most of the inhabitants can reach on foot. In al-Salamah district, there are more than thirty public spaces that were allocated for the construction of public parks within the residential blocks. These areas ranged from 1,500 to 6,000 square meters. Most of these spaces occurred in square or rectangular shapes and were surrounded by streets. They can be classified into two groups in terms of the density of the surrounding residential blocks. There are the multi-functional parks, which are located within the apartment buildings block close to commercial facilities; and recreational parks, which are located within the residential blocks and remote from institutions that attract passers-by. Due to the important role these spaces play in the quality of life in this district, the research draws on two of them which were seen to have different usage patterns.

The multi-purpose park

An example of these multi-functional public spaces is a public park located on Al-Jesser Street adjacent to ribbon commercial facilities along Ibn Sina Road, one of the major traffic arteries in the district. The park has a rectangular shape and covers an area of 5,520 square metres. It is surrounded by streets and enclosed by apartment buildings. These buildings, which are occupied by workers, not only increase the density and heterogeneity of the area but also, on account of their rigid edges and poor finish, create an unpleasant spatial character. This, in turn, has a depressingly negative effect on the visual character of the park and the urban setting in general (**Figure 8-9**). Our field observation of this park reveals that its design and construction processes were both carried out by the municipality contractor. Based on the prevailing design-led beautification practice of public space provision, which is rooted in the romantic tradition of the picturesque in English art and has since been applied to any public space, the park was covered by grass with pathways cutting through it, allowing cross-circulation access (Jackson 1994; Jivan and Larkham

2003). Following the grid pattern, the geometry of the park took a rectangular shape. The axial composition of the park was reinforced by the kerbs of the surrounding asphalted streets which are connected to cross-circulation access points. It was further reinforced by the creation of a central, paved and square shaped sitting area near a circular sandy playground. In addition to the arrangement of plant materials, these features encourage solitude and meditation rather than spontaneous human activities. In broad terms, the poor quality materials chosen by the municipality in constructing this park and the arrangement of its landscape elements, do not present an aesthetically pleasing image nor do they convey any social or cultural meaning.

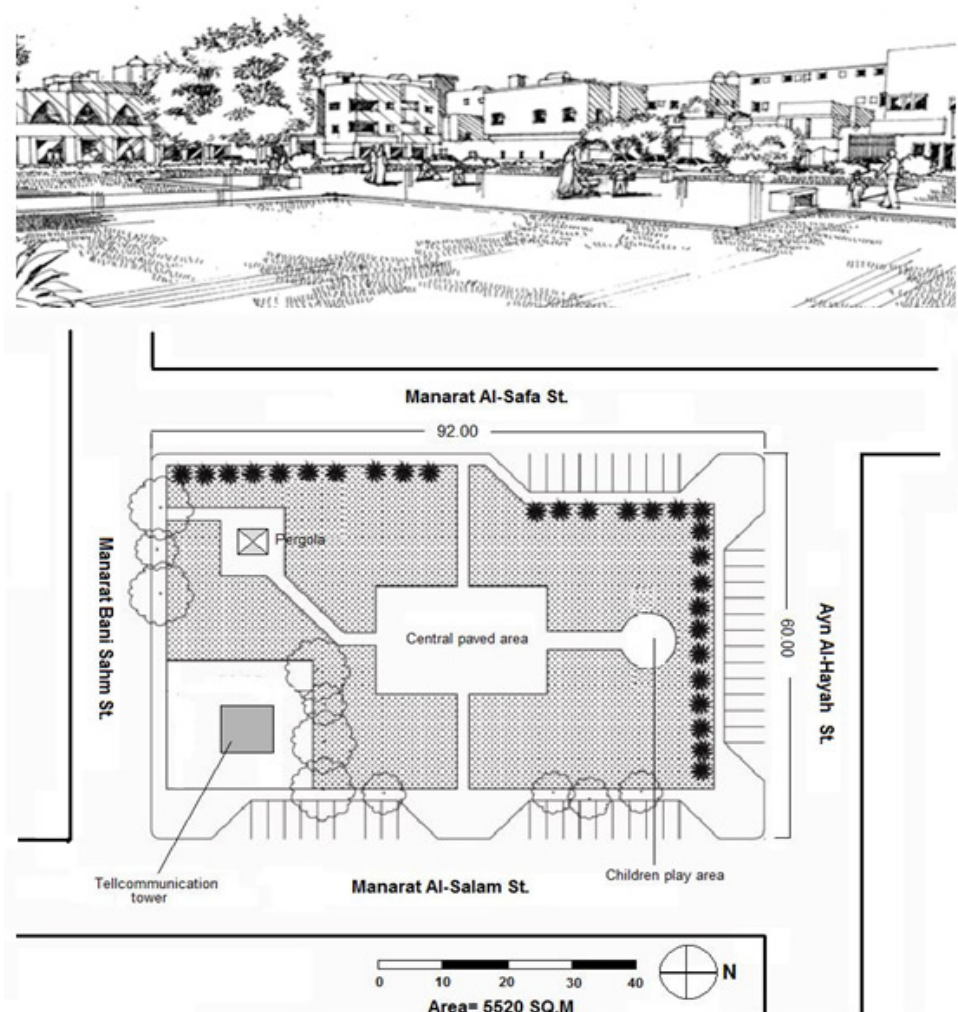


Fig 8-9: Jeddah, an example of multi-functional public space in al-Salamah district.

Morphologically, the geometry of the park can be conceived as isolated from the surrounding buildings rather than being a direct extension of them. This can be attributed to a lack of connection and harmony between the way the park is structured and the impoverished architectural vocabulary of the surrounding buildings. Moreover, the facades of the surrounding freestanding buildings belong to neither the street nor the park, which has in turn degraded the quality of the streetscape. Although these facades varied in shape, their inconsistent styles and poor finish were not enough to invigorate the visual appearance of the park setting in general. Additionally, although the park is aligned against the surrounding buildings, the proportion of the park to building height does not help in the creation of an enclosed space or to establish what Cullen (1971) refers to as a 'sequential experience'. In other words, the park is too open to be perceived as an enclosed public space, or to establish what Trancik (1986) called a coherent space.

In our conversation with one of the municipality officials of the Park and Landscape Department at Jeddah Municipality we asked why most of the parks in modern residential areas are similar to each other in term of design and construction material. He stated that

Our major objective is to achieve unity of design which is necessary to create safe, flourishing and aesthetically pleasing public spaces. It is important to note that in designing a public space we need to incorporate several professional disciplines including the need for botanical knowledge, construction expertise, drainage and irrigation expertise, and knowledge of design principles. This is to say that our aim is not only to increase greenery and create more places for people to gather, but also to develop and maintain existing parks by adding more seats, sunshades, bins, swings, fences and playgrounds to make the park pleasant and attractive. In order to make the garden more sustainable we try our best to make it self-sustaining and plan for the long term by emphasizing the need for a minimization of water consumption and lower use of energy for irrigation. We also consider budgetary constraints by ensuring a minimum level of periodic maintenance after the initial design has been implemented (interview 2007, translated from Arabic).

The prime location of the park and its proximity to commercial activities attract inhabitants of other nearby residential areas as well as passers-bys and cars. Though there is a considerable private--public interaction between the park and people, the close proximity of this park to commercial facilities and the heavy traffic fumes and noise around it have contributed towards a hostile environment for those who use it. Moreover, the passers-bys

and street vendors, who are attracted by the commercial facilities, (such as garbage diggers who rummage through the bins in search of recyclable items which they then sell at recycling centres), impaired the safety and security of the adjacent residential blocks. An interview with one resident revealed that they all suffered from frequent burglaries linked to the commercial premises. Consequently – as made clear by the residents – a lack of sense of place and local group identity, combined with the generally elusive quality of this park negatively affects the emotional experiences of pedestrians. This in turn discourages them from visiting the park on a regular basis.

The residential urban park

A good example of a residential park is Basketball Park, which we have selected as another case study. This park is located within residential blocks with a rectangular shape and covers an area of 6,138 square metres (**Figure 8-10**). As was the case in the multipurpose park mentioned previously, this one is also defined by the edges of the buildings and the kerbs of the surrounding streets. In terms of design, the park is divided into smaller compartments by curvilinear pathways so that a person can move from one setting to another. Looking carefully at the way this park has been arranged, one can tell that the designer (the municipality's own contractor) did not think carefully about the intended uses of the park. More to the point, it is difficult to know whether his intention had been to create an urban park that would serve what Kevin Lynch (1981: 442) calls 'leisurely and informal activities' such as social gatherings, walking, running, and sitting; or whether he planned to establish a playing field and playground that could accommodate the leisure activities of children and adults alike.

Likewise, we do not know whether the inclusion of grassed areas within this park (as discussed by Clare Marcus and Wendy Sarkissian (1986) in their analysis of similar projects), is mainly for appearance or also meant for children. Another example is the way the footpaths are planned; it is not obvious whether the designer intended to accommodate predictable patterns of pedestrian behaviour or whether he had planned to facilitate use and maintenance. Broadly speaking, the way the park is furnished with standard children's play equipment, and with basketball fields and grassed areas equally does not show whether the park was originally intended to serve passive or active recreation (**Figure 8-11**).

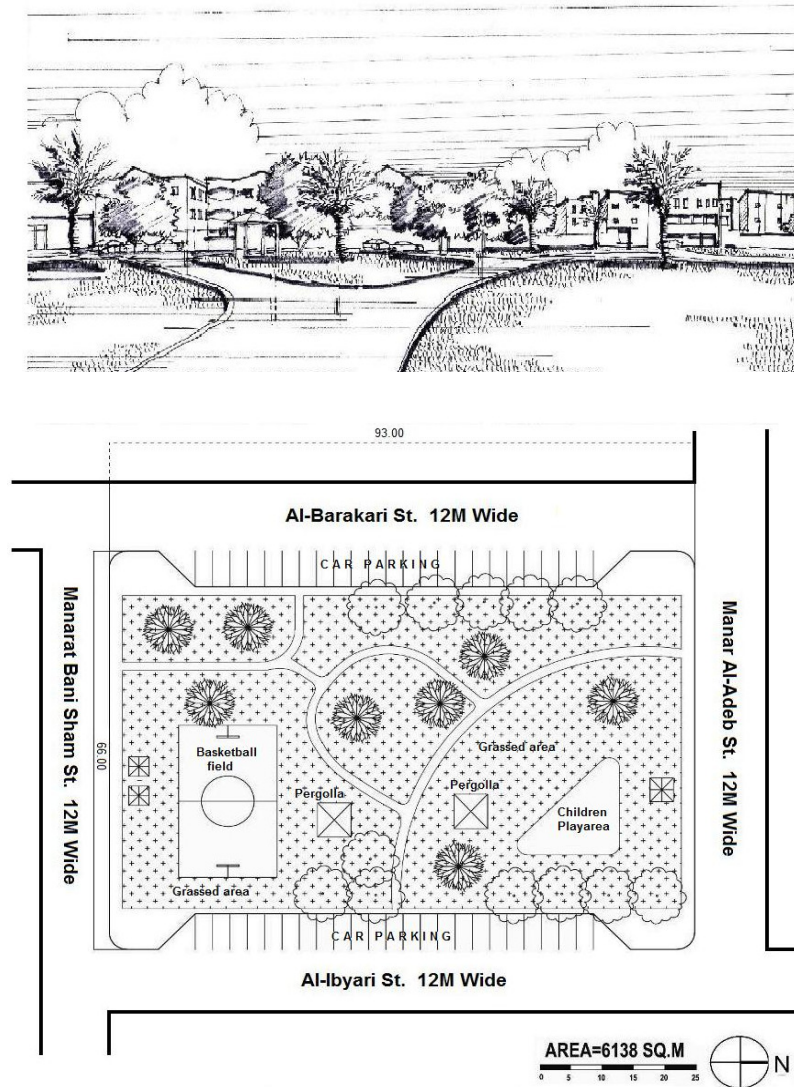


Fig 8-10: Jeddah, the basketball in al-Salamah district provides an example of residential urban parks that can be conceived as a square isolated from the surrounding buildings

Morphologically, the problem is not only related to the way the park has been designed but may also be attributed to its location, which can be conceived as a square isolated from the surrounding buildings. The existence of the surrounding streets that reduce accessibility, the rigid edges and the poor quality of the finish of the buildings that act as a boundary to the park, the deficiency in the dimensional proportion of the size of the park when set against the height of the surrounding buildings, and the lack of symbolic references in the park composition to its context are all features that do not contribute to what Carmona and his collaborators (2003) argue is the vitality of public spaces, nor do they create a pleasant spatial character for the park.

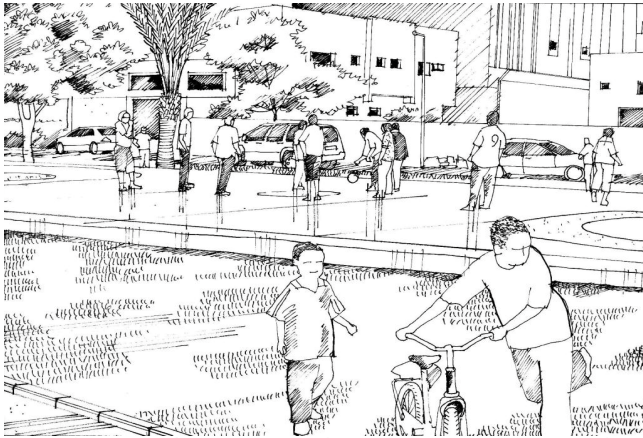


Fig 8-11: Jeddah, residential park in al-Salamah district designed with primitive plantation to accommodate both passive and active recreation.



Based on the use of primitive plantation practices in addition to the ill-defined form of the park, one can argue that the construction of this park was an exercise in the routine aesthetic of the ‘picturesque area’. Thus, it is easy to maintain, but cannot be described as a product of a coherent design process for the establishment of urban parks. One of the employees of the municipality contractor in charge of the maintenance of this park spoke about the way they design, construct and maintain the parks in this district and pointed out that

In general terms, design and construction should be in accordance with the budget and municipality instructions for the avoidance of high maintenance costs, as they believe the limited budget has a negative effect in the long run and that it is more important to comply with the agreement specifications. The landscape design starts with the creation of a conceptual plan, which is a rough layout of all of the design elements and their location within the site and their relationship to the approximate land use. Our major concern is to

increase the grassed areas, since many municipality officials believe that the English garden design is the best and that people prefer it. The other major concern is to avoid incorporating landscape elements, trees and plants which require constant pruning and management. The design concept of this park in particular was mainly based on creating grassed areas for people to sit and watch their children playing in the sandy areas. Then, young people from the surrounding buildings obtained a permit from the municipality in order to build a basketball court. This in turn attracted more active recreational activities and forced us to convert some of the grassed areas to tiled areas in order to suit the changing pattern of usage from passive to active (Interview 2006, translated from Arabic).

It is important to note that there is a common attitude towards public spaces within modern residential areas in Jeddah as they are frequently not generally attractive. One exception to this may be this park and some other public spaces in the district, where there is remarkable care of outdoor areas by residents who have become aware of the importance of public spaces and have mobilized themselves to promote their development. This in turn enhances the social life of the spaces and encourages more people to interact on a daily basis. In this district, through every day contact with each other in the mosques, residents were able to form an association to raise money in order to upgrade this park and some other public spaces in the district.

As Manuel Castells (1983) in his work 'The City and the Grassroots' points out, the role of neighbourhood groups has been considerable in making a radical social change (Goonewardena 2004). The positive steps taken towards cooperation in al-Salamah have created an energetic impulse among members of the local community to unite in order to demand various development projects from different governmental agencies in Jeddah and to encourage the involvement of the private sector in improvement projects for the district. Consequently, the municipality as well as other public sector agencies such as the Provincial Government Office, the Mayoralty and the local branch of the Ministry of Social Affairs responded positively to their requests for such matters as the establishment of a community centre. The same impulse also encouraged both the municipality and private developers to maintain and upgrade the deteriorated streets and open spaces such as al-Yamamah Park, which was constructed by a businessman called Abdurrahman Fakeh. The improvements are thought of as places where space is shared and facilities owned collectively. As indicated in a similar observation in American cities (Talen 2006), this in

turn has made the neighbourhood more socially active and made provision for voluntary control

8.2.3 Public spaces in al-Shate'e district

This district is located on the north west of the city along the coastline. It is one of the biggest districts in Jeddah with a population of 29,000 inhabitants and density equal to 18 people per hectare and contains an area of approximately 1620 hectares (Jeddah-Municipality 2006). Most of the land of the district is flat with a gentle slope to the sea. The district is bounded by four major arteries: The King Road on the eastern edge, Corniche Road in the west, Prince Mohammad Bin Abdulaziz in the south and Heraa Road on the northern edge. This district is formed by three land subdivisions which have been approved during the development of Jeddah Cornich in 1980s and early 1990s (**Figure 8-12**).

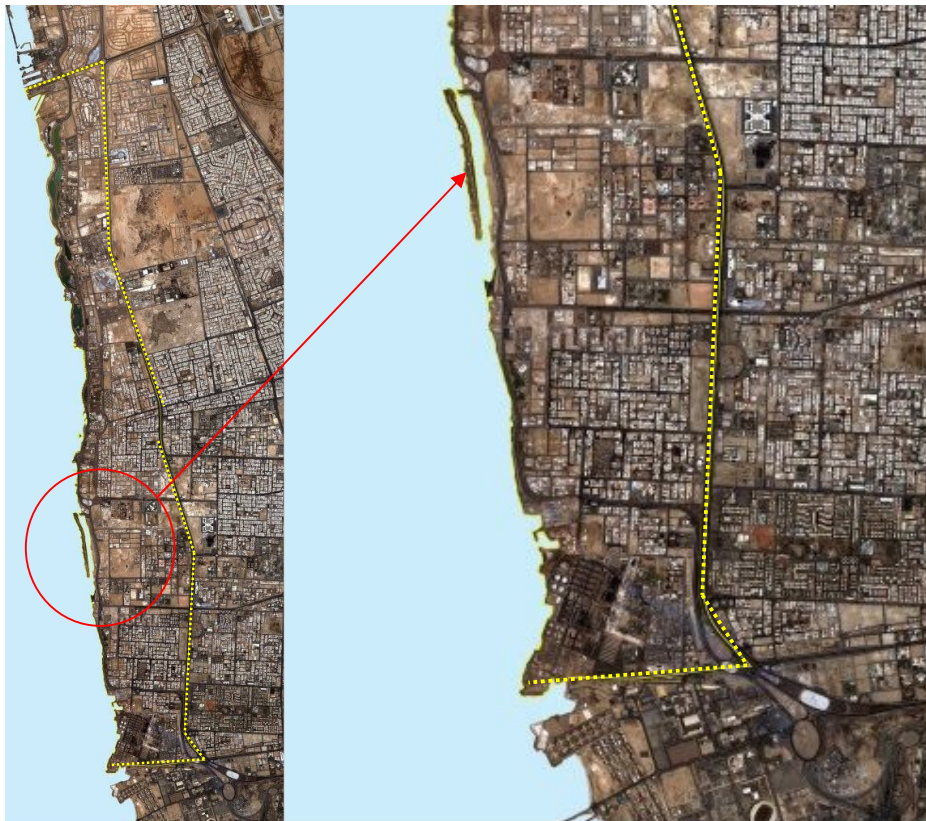


Fig 8-12: Jeddah, Al-Shate'e district. Source: Jeddah Municipality (2005).

The proposal for the Corniche development was first outlined in general terms in the second master plan of 1973 (see chapter 7, section 7.2.3). Until the mid 1970s, the al-Shate'e district contained almost no permanent population and most of its area was vacant. Along the coastline there were narrow strips of holiday villas, cabins or some walled land in private ownership, compounds containing primitive buildings and containing only vacant land. Immediately to the west of the district there was the Raytheon Military Area which included the Military Training School and the Desalination Plant. Also along the Corniche Road in the west of this district, there are public recreation areas which are mainly designated for sitting and picnics, with restaurants and cafes. Subsequently, al-Shate'e district has developed as a prestigious residential area for high income people as anticipated by the plan. Although the Corniche development has attracted much private sector investment, the development of commercial activities along the road is relatively limited and more organised, unlike the retail development which took place in the form of extensive ribbon developments along the major road and throughout other residential areas in the city (Daghistani 1993).

Al-Shate'e consists of three different land subdivisions which are developed by private investors and approved by the Jeddah Municipality at different times during the 1980s and 1990s. The layouts of these subdivisions are mainly based on the gridiron pattern with rectangular and square lots except the subdivision which is located in the northern margin of the district. This subdivision has been designed with a curvilinear street pattern. According to the third master plan of Jeddah, this district is designated as a low density high class residential area. The residential dwellings consist mainly of two storey villas and a small percentage of apartment buildings ranging from two to six storeys. The architecture within the residential quarters in this district is mainly detached buildings in an American style. In the 1990s, the plots of the district were sold at very low prices, but the interim of the prices of lots increased drastically (170 to 250 pounds sterling per square metre within the residential clusters) due to land speculation and the importance of the Corniche area as the major recreation area in the Kingdom.

Recently, building regulations allowed high-rise buildings to exceed 30 storeys along the Corniche Road. This change in the regulations will cause traffic congestion as well as other environmental problem to the coastal line if the municipality does not regulate such increasing development appropriately. Nowadays, the district is well provided with most of

community facilities and public services. Most of the palaces, villas, high-rise buildings and theme parks are built of high quality of construction materials, though some of them have been degraded. The layout of some parts of the subdivision has been transformed to erect gated community housing projects such as al-Butat housing project along the King Road on the eastern edge or to erect a palace with huge fenced property. The residents of the district are now very diverse and work in different occupations. Although there are many professional and middle income employees, the district still maintains its role as the best high class residential area in Jeddah.

As is the case in most modern residential areas in Jeddah, all the local streets in the district are surfaced with asphalt, but many of them are lacking appropriate sidewalks and landscaping. In relation to public spaces, there are many vacant lots; some of these lots are used as football fields and children playgrounds and others are used for car parking. Although some of the areas which are designated as public space in the approved subdivision of the district have recently been improved by the municipality or the residents, most of these spaces are neglected, undeveloped, or developed inappropriately. Some of these are spaces which this thesis draws on to explore the state of public spaces within modern residential areas in Jeddah. According to the land subdivision of this district there are more than 40 plots designated as public spaces within the residential blocks. Most of these spaces are undeveloped. This can be attributed either to the limited resources of the municipality or to the fact that the municipality granted these lots to certain individuals. The existing constructed public spaces number fewer than ten. These public spaces can be classified into two groups in terms of their design. The first group consists of formal plazas, which are constructed with hard pavements, and the second is a typical residential park with soft landscaping and grassed areas. Based on this classification, two of these public spaces were selected as case studies. Although some areas have recently been improved by the municipality or the residents, most of these spaces are neglected, undeveloped, or developed inappropriately.

Walking trail in al-Shate'e

Due to increasing public demand for recreational facilities in general and for footpaths in particular, the municipality of Jeddah recently constructed a public pathway for walking and jogging in a linear median island of Prince Faisal Bin Fahd Road. The width of this

pathway ranged from six to fifteen metres, cutting through a linear median covered with grass, and it runs to about two kilometres in length. To attract walkers to the area, the pathway was paved with attractive concrete tiles and the surrounding areas were furnished with sitting areas and planted with attractive palm trees (**Figure 8-13**). Based on the success of this footpath, which encouraged not only the residents of this district but also those of other adjacent districts, the municipality was prompted to embark on a project to construct pathways in different parts of the city.



Fig 8-13: Jeddah, walking trail in al-Shate'e district.

The formal plaza

One example of this is Al-Dahlan Plaza in the al-Hawamat subdivision in al-Shate'e district. The area of the site is about 4,100 square metres. This plaza has been developed with the donation of a family in the district in memory of their father. The park is located close to Abdurrahman Fakieh Road and is surrounded on all sides by local roads that lead to the residential villas. The plaza takes a rectangular shape and is raised one metre above street level (**Figure 8-14**).



Fig 8-14: Jeddah, formal plaza in al-Shate'e district.

The site is divided into three sections. The first section has been set aside for car parking in the east and the west, the second was designated for a mosque, and the remaining section (about 2200 square metres) is reserved for a seating area and children's playground. The entire terrace for the park is paved with concrete except for a small area that is covered by sand to serve as a children's play area (total lot area of 30 square metres). The site is surrounded by a footpath covered by concrete tiles and aligned by a granite retaining wall with six steps to allow access to the seating area from three directions. Generally, the greenery is tight as the park appears to be surrounded by palm trees and some evergreen trees planted to one side to give shade to the play area and car parking. The level of the western section of the park is adjacent to the street level but set back about eight metres and is connected to the elevated terrace by a series of steps. This level constitutes about two thirds of the floor area of the park. About two thirds of this terrace is open to the sky and the remaining area, which is adjacent to the mosque entrance, is covered with metal pergola (Figure 8-15).

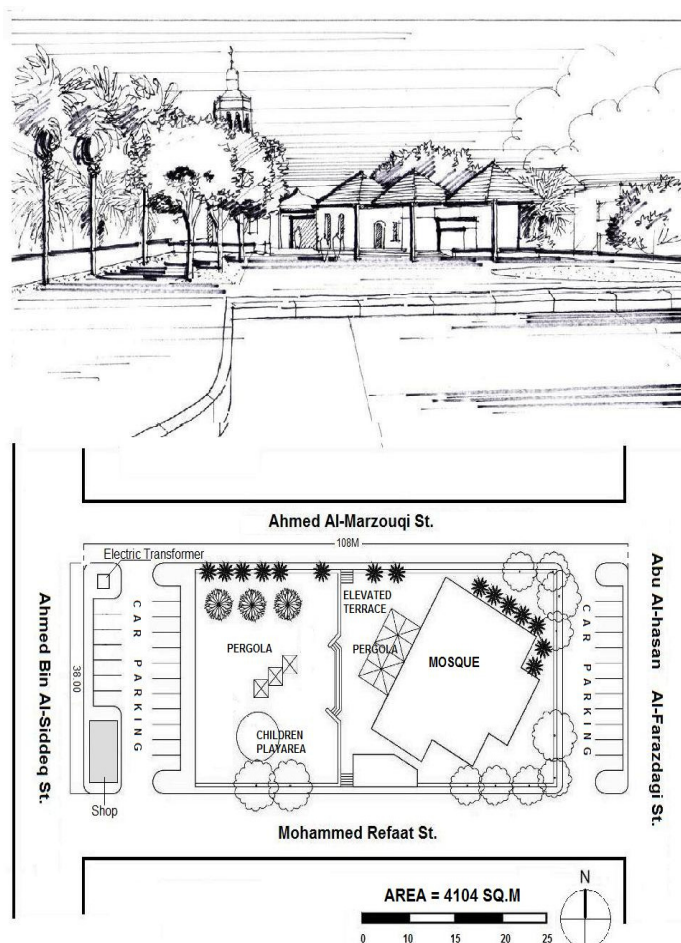


Fig 8-15: Jeddah, al-Shate'e, a formal plaza with elevated concrete terrace

In terms of design, the way the plaza was designed and constructed reveals that the designer's intention was to create a supplementary area for the mosque so it could be utilized as a terrace extension for outside prayers, where worshippers might sit on special occasions, such as the *Eid* festivals. It could also serve as an area for social gatherings on a daily basis. A first glance at the way this space is constructed, planted and furnished gives the feeling that it is of very high quality. However, closer observation reveals that it does not have qualities to entice one to pay a second visit. Morphologically, as indicated by Clare Marcus and Wendy Sarkissian (1986) in their analysis of similar projects, the concrete terrace with the retaining wall provided a 'hard' environment, so that most of the residents perceive the seating area as impersonal, ugly and too formal. Additionally, as was the case with most of the urban park within the MRAJ the area can be conceived as a space set in isolation from the surrounding villas. This can be attributed to many factors, including the fact that the park was designed with little thought to its relationship to its surroundings, is bounded by the blank walls of the adjacent villas, that there is an unbalanced dimensional proportion of the park to building heights, and that the formal composition of the park lacks attractive landscape materials. Taken together, these features did not help to establish what Lynch calls experiential quality and a vivid image for the setting.

The residential urban park

The park is surrounded by villas and apartment blocks, and is adjacent to Al-Mokhtar Road, with an area equal to 5,280 square metres. It is one of the major parks designated as a public space in the subdivision of the district. Initially, the park was developed by the municipality but recently with the help of donations from residents and the support of the municipality, the park has improved and has been upgraded by adding some attractive elements such as the basketball field and the landscaped sitting areas (**Figure 8-16**).

The intention of the designer (the municipality contractor) was to construct a recreational area complete with a basketball court, playground equipment, seating areas, grassed areas and a small soccer field. The efforts of local authorities and the concern of the residents ended up by creating a park better than the above-mentioned formal plaza in this district.

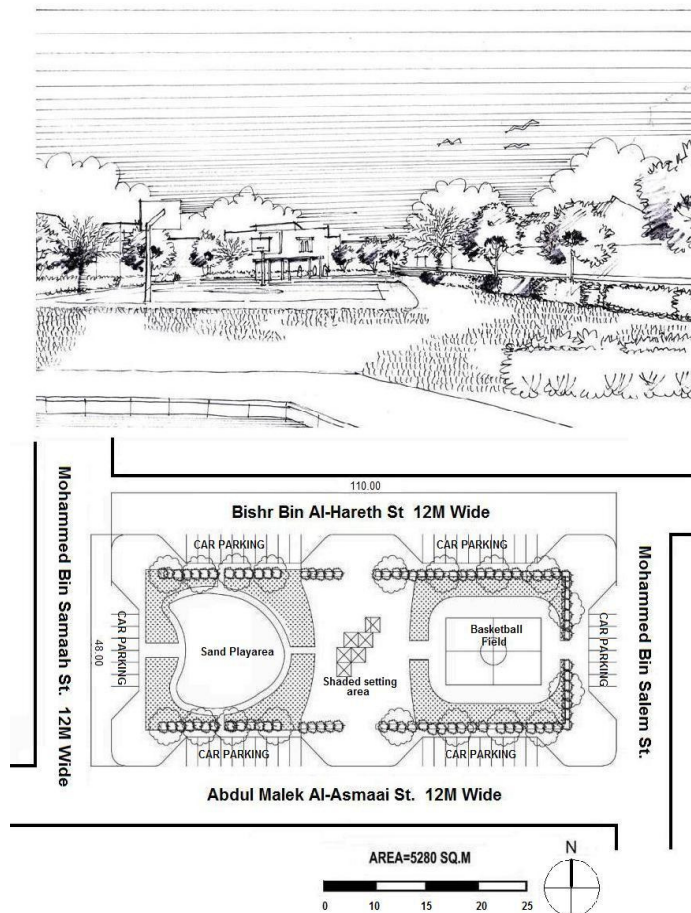


Fig 8-16: Jeddah, public space in al-Shate'e developed by the residents.

When one of the designers of the municipality contractor in charge of the development and maintenance of parks in one district was asked about whether they have fixed rules for park design, he replied that

There are no fixed rules for public park design: each project should have a different approach. When we design public spaces in high-class residential areas we try our best to make the public parks beautiful in the eye of the residents and visitors by constructing the park with a high quality finish that fits the elegant appearance of the buildings in the neighbourhood. Moreover, the design must accommodate the essential elements while catering for as many of the desired elements as possible. In areas of low residential density, most buildings are villas with pleasant gardens inside the boundary of the property that can be used by the families and their children for outdoor recreation. Thus, what is needed in these neighbourhoods is an open public space that encourages youths and adults to practice sports and other physical activities. Based on our previous experience, we have found that the construction of a small soccer or basketball court brings more suitable elements that can provide active recreation without generating too much noise

when compared to a large football court. At the same time, they can function as focal points that bring life to these deserted open public spaces. With regard to the way we design the parks, it should be noted that our main concern is to construct gardens with durable elements such as wooden pergolas, high quality benches, and good quality swings that can withstand the high humidity levels of Jeddah weather and protect users from the heat of the sun. Moreover, in our selection of plants we carefully choose those that suit local conditions and consider how much watering they require (interview 2008, translated from Arabic).

Our field observation of this park reveals that it is characterized by how it receives the direct rays of the sun. Because of this environmental factor the park is usually used in the afternoon, one hour before sunset. Overall, the arrangement of the park has strengthened the area for public use and encouraged sociability among the children and teenagers of families from the surrounding buildings as well as the adjacent residential blocks. This can be attributed to the recent construction of the basketball court, the playing field, and the existing grassed areas, which are most appealing to people in these age groups. A wide range of behaviours was observed. Most people were usually seated near the playing fields, watching teenagers playing basketball and watching their children on the playground. In terms of design, as is the case in most residential parks, the municipal contractor dealt with the location as an independent entity to accommodate passive recreation, based on symmetrical geometry with pathways that cut through grassed areas and are connected with the pavements of the surrounding streets. But with the intervention of the residents, who funded the improvement process, playing fields have been added to accommodate active recreation (**Figure 8-17**).

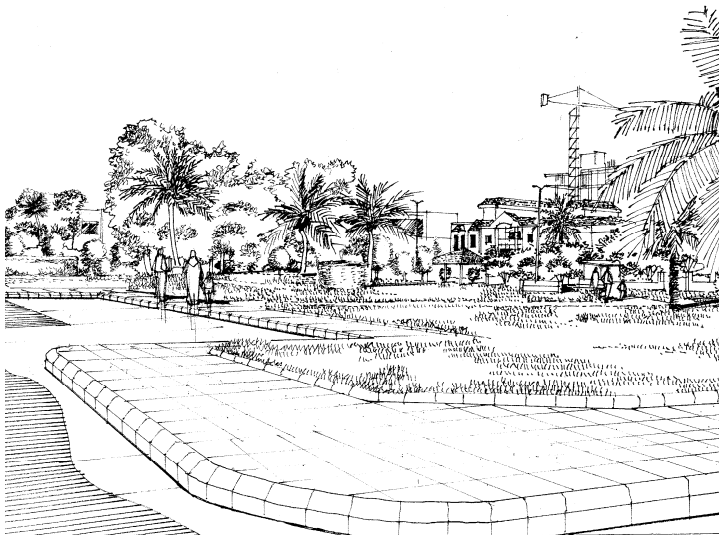


Fig 8-17: Jeddah, residential park with universal design standards.

Broadly speaking, the arrangement of different elements within the park and its general appearance had been subjected to a universal design standard. It had no identifiable character to distinguish it from other residential parks in the city. Visually, it appeared as an isolated island without any spatial definition. To tackle this issue, and in an effort to discourage fast traffic, the residents of one of the surrounding blocks paved the street next to the park with attractive concrete tiles. This direct physical intervention helped, to a certain extent, in visually connecting the park with the surrounding buildings. Given the international styles used for the facades of the surrounding villas, none of them conveys a local symbolic significance; however, their luxury finish gives the impression of a high quality neighbourhood. Additionally, the good maintenance of the park and the cleanliness of the streets reinforce this image and help to establish an aesthetically appealing area for visitors as well as residents. This was confirmed by the qualitative research survey. For example, one male resident indicated that 'we have done all these improvements in order to show others how we really care for our children and shows them our status'. Generally speaking, the good state of this park gives us a clear indication of the importance of effective public space management as well as the significant role that residents can play in upgrading the current situation of public space within the modern residential areas in Jeddah.

8.3 The quality of public spaces within modern residential areas

The visual survey showed some curious differences in public space provision between the different case studies. Building density, social factors and the quality of maintenance in this respect may account for these differences. Neighbourhoods with medium density such as al-Salamah were more likely than those with high density and low density to possess a number of features that support residents' activities in outdoor areas. This can be attributed to the proximity of public spaces to residential clusters and the moderate and socially mixed nature of the neighbourhood. It can also be attributed to the fact that high density areas (more than 200 persons per hectare) such as al-Sharafeyah have a problem with extraordinary overcrowding and have suffered from high crime rates and anti-social behaviour, whereas the low density areas (less than 100 persons per hectare) such as al-Shate'e district suffer from some empty open spaces.

In high-density residential areas, the undefined territories within the residential areas have resulted in the emergence of an uncivilized public attitude towards the disposal of domestic waste and other activities such as littering and vandalism. Additionally, this has resulted in a conflict between those who use the areas in question and the occupants of the adjacent residential buildings, who believe their privacy is in danger from the users. Such a situation has made residents feel unable to cooperate with their neighbours to share in the creation of collective resources such as the construction and maintenance of public open spaces. Likewise, in low-density residential areas, the increased distance between buildings creates tracts of widely dispersed left-over spaces that are less identifiable.

The spatial characteristics of these neighbourhoods not only allow cars to enter, but also the way they have been designed does not allow for natural surveillance and has resulted in over-exposure to strangers. This, along with the social disorder of the neighbourhood (e.g. poor maintenance, garbage and litter) reduced safety and security measures, which in turn limited both the presence of people in public spaces and the pattern of physical activities (Alfonzo et al. 2008). The visual survey reveals that the practice of public space provision may succeed in providing standardized areas and abstract landscapes within residential areas that are easily constructed and maintained, but it does not provide public spaces that positively contribute to the surroundings, or promote social activities. The majority of the public spaces in the case studies have a common spatial quality, as most of them are visually isolated from surrounding residential blocks by wide streets with narrow pavements, which, in turn, discourage accessibility and walkability as well as other physical activities.

Environmentally, the basic problem of extreme weather conditions that exist in Jeddah for most of the year has not been adequately considered in the design of these spaces, most of which are often exposed to extreme heat and sun. This in turn makes them unusable during the day and affects the livability of residential areas overall. Additionally, it could be argued that the universality of the design standards for both public spaces and their surrounding buildings does not contribute to the establishment of a sense of place and local identity. The rigidity of building edges, the uniformity of building elevations, the deficiency in the dimensional proportions of the size of public spaces when set against the

height of the surrounding buildings, the lack of symbolic references to the context in the composition of these spaces, and the lack of integration in the way public spaces are constructed – all are features that act against a pleasant spatial character and signify a deficiency in the physical identity of the districts. In terms of construction material, most of these spaces often incorporate a large number of primitive landscape features such as trees, benches, grassed areas, and paths, which have been constructed in a way that discourages active recreation and does not enhance visual quality. Few of these spaces were designed to fulfil human needs since many basic aspects of comfort, such as environmental protection and accessibility, were ignored. They are neither suitable area for families to sit in, nor are they safe for children to play in (Schmidt 2005).

The result also shows that the role of local communities in constructing and maintaining processes of public spaces within their residential areas is minimal since municipality professionals and their contractors usually determine the outcome by deciding what should be provided, where and when. It should be noted that the lack of identification with physical space on the part of residents has influenced the way they perceive these spaces, since they think that they have no meaningful representation to reveal their aspirations and expectations for an attractive urban setting. Consequently, the construction and landscaping of the majority of public spaces within the case studies initiated by the municipality have deteriorated in quality. The findings of this research also indicated that some public spaces are negatively influenced by the severe financial difficulties experienced by the public authorities in the provision of public services since the onset of the decline of the welfare state and the rationalization of public investments. The lack of maintenance and public investment for public spaces within the residential areas result in fewer users and make them repel rather than attract people. The stark reality of the situation was exacerbated by an irresponsible attitude on the part of residents towards the disposal of domestic waste and other uncivilized activities such as littering and vandalism, together with the illegal use of public places. We have also seen some differences between public spaces in individual case studies. For example, while there are some spaces within al-Salamah district that have come alive and are now healthy, others such as those adjacent to commercial facilities in al-Sharafeyah and al-Salamah have become dangerous and have been appropriated by street vendors.

In terms of improving public space livability, there are many who argue that one way to achieve better public spaces is to encourage participatory planning with residents. The findings of this research support this argument for some public spaces in al-Salamah and al-Shate'e districts, where there is remarkable care of outdoor areas by residents who have become aware of the importance of public spaces and have mobilized themselves to promote their development. This in turn enhances the social life of the spaces and encourages more people to interact on a daily basis. In these residential blocks within these districts, through everyday contact with each other in the mosques, residents were able to raise money in order to upgrade some public spaces within their districts. In this respect, our findings allow us to argue that the quality of public spaces within modern residential areas can be effectively enhanced by people participation in the maintenance and management of these spaces.

8.4 Conclusion

Our research illustrates that the poor quality of public spaces within modern residential areas in Jeddah is not only related to modern land subdivision regulations for designing residential areas, but also to the way these spaces are constructed and maintained. Deficient design and construction, inappropriate maintenance and management together with irresponsible public attitudes led to the deterioration of these spaces within this context. As these spaces become less attractive, people are less inclined to spend time in them for social and physical activities. The findings also show that the actual practice of public space provision is to be regretted, not just on aesthetic and functional grounds, but also for being unresponsive to prevailing spatial and socio-cultural realities. All these problems raised important questions about the role of local and central authorities, as well as other stakeholders, in addressing these issues. Therefore, a clear understanding of local context, what services the community requires and why they are to be provided, would reinforce attempts to deliver more satisfactory amenities, contribute to the enhancement of the public realm and address other social concerns such as anti-social behaviour and vandalism.

Thus, the providers and regulators of public space within this context need to understand first, the present situation of these spaces and second, the relative dimensions that might

affect the practice of public space provision (Madanipour 2006). More to the point, public authorities need to ensure that their intervention in regulating urban development is not only based on technical perspectives, but that they need to raise the design quality of our neighbourhoods in a way that fulfils people's objective and subjective needs (Carmona et al. 2008). The challenge for local and central authorities is to take into consideration the wider civic functions of public spaces. As hypothesized in the literature (e.g. Punter 2007), to improve the quality of public spaces within our neighbourhoods, a full consideration should be placed on how these neighbourhoods offer the potential for residents to have a greater attachment to adjacent outdoor areas; on how to encourage individuals to participate in improving their immediate surroundings; on how public spaces within residential areas become accessible, aesthetically pleasing and more sociable; and on how to reduce a sense of risk and undesirable behaviour.

Chapter Nine

The consumption of public spaces within modern residential areas

Chapter 9

The consumption of public spaces within modern residential areas in Jeddah

9.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an analysis of the findings from the face-to-face questionnaires and in-depth interviews collected during fieldwork in Jeddah between December 2006 and January 2007. In general, our findings confirm that the majority of residents do not use public spaces within their neighbourhoods. This is primarily attributed to a lack of interest in existing outdoor activities, the extremely hot climate and residential anxieties over safety and security. The chapter is organised into five major sections. Section one affords a brief analysis of the personal characteristics of the participants. Section two provides information about the patterns of visitation and the physical activities that take place within the public spaces included in the case studies. The third section focuses on identifying the factors respondents perceived as presenting the greatest limitations on the frequency of their presence in public spaces. The fourth section discusses how far these spaces are responsive to their potential users and how compatible they are to the broader context. Section five is the conclusion and some of the general comments concerning how design, management and social factors can enhance the quality of public realm within this context.

9.2 Socio-demographic characteristics

As indicated in chapter five, the demographic data in Jeddah share a number of characteristics with other major urban centres in Saudi Arabia. These include rapid growth, a high fertility rate, and substantial migration. Broadly speaking, the

demographic trajectories are linked with the country's economic prosperity. Such dynamic economic growth attracted migrants, and this in turn speeded up population growth and the expansion of major cities such as Jeddah. This urban population growth, coupled with an increasing number of ethnic groups, has placed considerable pressure on governance of the city, on resident access to the basic needs of life, and on key service deliveries, such as the provision of public space within residential areas. It has also created more socially diverse neighbourhoods and larger groups of disenfranchised minorities who are unable to access the economic advantages of living in the city. Thus, it is imperative to ensure what can be done to develop and regulate the city by addressing urban problems rather than imposing actions contrary to the local context (UN-Habitat 2007).

To compare the levels of public space use as well as the perceptions of children and their parents regarding public spaces within their residential areas, we distributed 450 survey questionnaires at 18 schools (9 girls and 9 boys) in the three residential areas selected as case studies, and 390 of these questionnaires (144 parents and 246 students) were taken into consideration. In order to analyse the data gathered, the descriptive statistics, correlation, chi-square, ANOVA, and MANOVA features of SPSS were carried out using different socio-demographic characteristics with other spatial aspects taken as factors, such as residential density levels (Hubert 1989).¹ The statistical analysis involved two steps: First, a multivariate modelling tested the null hypothesis that there were no relationships between the combined dependent variables and the independent variables. Second, when significance was found, descriptive statistics were presented and discussed. Overall, the findings indicate a significant association with other independent variables such as age, gender, income level, educational level, neighbourhood density and building type. The following sections discuss the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents.

¹ Hubert and Morris (1989) point out that while ANOVA involves testing one metric dependent variable at a time; MANOVA assesses group differences across multiple metrics when linear correlations among them are expected to exist. Additionally, MANOVA enables the researcher to control the overall error rate (type I error when the hypothesis is rejected, when in fact it is true). Therefore, it was chosen as the main statistical techniques for analyzing the data on satisfaction levels.

9.2.1 Age, gender and nationality

As indicated in chapter 4 (section 4.4.1), the sizes of the samples were determined through a stratified quota sampling procedure, to ensure that the face-to-face questionnaire was conducted throughout the different age and gender groups, in the proportion to their size within the total population. **Table 9-1** (which encompasses basic descriptive information about the entire sample) reveals that 54% of respondents were male and 46% were female. Moreover, it shows that the overwhelming majority (89%) of respondents in the total sample were aged 44 years or less, while only 11% over 44. This demographic composition of Saudi society demands that greater attention be given to public space provision and leisure facilities in general.

As indicated in chapter 5, Jeddah and its suburbs experienced a dramatic influx of immigrants and increased ethnic heterogeneity from 1970 onwards. In some areas, such as al-Nuzalah district, these racial and ethnic minority groups outnumber native Saudis and constitute an important and growing group of public space users. With growing racial and ethnic heterogeneity, it is important to consider the significance of the socially mixed nature of contemporary neighbourhoods for public amenities management. Table 9-1 also shows that of the 390 respondents, 77% were Saudi nationals and the remaining 23% were non-Saudis. The proportion of non-Saudis in the sample is slightly lower than that in the total population of Jeddah (29.4%).

9.2.2 Marital status and household size

Table 9-1 also shows that the majority of the adult respondents (75%) were married and 14.6% were single. Additionally, it shows that 5.6% were widowed and 4.9% divorced. In term of household size, the table also reveals that about half the respondents from the adult group (57% N=144) had a medium-sized household whose members ranged from 5 to 8 persons. In addition, while 31% of respondents had a small household size of between 1 and 4, only 12% of the sample had a large household figure of 9-12 persons.

Table 9-1: Descriptive statistic of the total sample.

N=390		%			
		Adult Group	Young Group	Sample	Jeddah*
Gender	Male	58.3	52.4	54.5	54.5
	Female	41.7	47.6	45.5	45.5
Age	0-14	-	52.4	33.17	33.17
	15-29	-	47.6	29.75	29.75
	30-44	69.4	-	25.65	25.65
	45-59	23.6	-	8.97	8.97
	60 and over	6.9	-	2.48	2.48
Nationality	Saudi	76.4	74.6	77	70.6
	Non-Saudi	23.6	21.5	23	29.4
	Single	14.6	-	-	57.53
	Married	75	-	-	40.85
	Window	5.6	-	-	.71
Educational level	Divorce	4.9	-	-	1.42
	Uneducated	1.4	-	.5	5.97
	Read and write	2.1	-	.8	8.37
	Elementary school	3.5	24.4	16.7	21.28
	Intermediate	1.4	28	18	17.02
	Secondary school	25	47.7	39.2	23.71
	Technical school	27.1	-	10	4.08
	University degree	36.8	-	13.6	18.90
Occupation	Post-graduate	2.8	-	1.2	0.67
	Student	-	100	-	-
	Government officer	63.2	-	-	-
	Private sector	16	-	-	-
	Self employed	15.3	-	-	-
	Housewife only	0.7	-	-	25.08
	Retired	4.9	-	-	0.17
Household size	Small (1-4)	31	-	-	-
	Medium (5-8)	57	-	-	-
	Large (9-12)	12	-	-	-
	Mean	5.85	-	4.8	4.8
Dwelling type	Villa	41.7	40.7	47.4	11.62
	Semi-detached villa	7.6	4.9	-	-
	Traditional house	1.4	2.4	2	20.23
	Apartment	49.3	52	50.6	67.72
Ownership	Owner	46.5	-	-	35.1
	Tenet	52.1	-	-	58.4
	Other	1.4	-	-	6.5

Fieldwork, Jeddah, January 2007. * Jeddah Municipality (Al-Beeah Consultancy Survey of 2002).

The table also shows that the household size in the sample average (around 5.85) is larger than the average household size in the total population of Jeddah (4.8). This can be attributed to the suggested quota sampling procedure that was used: the sampling units of adult males and females have a common feature, namely adults with children attending schools. This meant the sample of the adults was not representative of single adult or non-family member households.

9.2.3 Educational status, occupation and income level

Table 9.1 shows that about 14.8% (N=390) of respondents had a university degree and post-graduate, 39.2% had passed through secondary education, and 10% had obtained a technical education. While those who never went beyond elementary school accounted for 16.7% of the figures, 0.8% of respondents were illiterate and had no educational qualifications. In terms of the occupation of adult respondents, Table 9-2 reveals that the distribution of employment for household heads in the case studies is dominated by employment in the public sector, with 63.2% (N=144) being employed there. In contrast, 16% of respondents work in the private sector and 15.3% run their own businesses. The remaining 4.9% are retired employees and 0.7% are housewives. In response to the comprehensive questionnaire, adult respondents stated the total monthly income of their household. The results show that income distribution among the households was varied. As shown in the table about one third of the heads of households in the case studies (37.5%, N=144) earned a low income of less than 8000 Saudi Riyals (about 1300 GBP) monthly, 37.5% brought home a middle-level income ranging between 8000 to 12000 SR, and 25% were high income earners, bringing back more than 12000 SR (about 2000 GBP). While the share of households with a high income was 59.1% in al-Shate'e district, 60% of al-Sharafeyah heads of household and 46% of a-Salamah were from low income groups.

9.2.4 Building type and ownership

As shown in table 9-1, about 50.6% (N=390) of respondents in the total sample were living in apartments, 47.4% were living in villas and semi-detached villas, and 2% in

traditional houses. However, significant differences were found between respondents in the study cases in this respect. As can be seen from the table the share of the adult respondents in the al-Sharafeyah district who were living in apartments is far larger (84%) than in the al-Shate'e (9.1%) and al-Salamah districts (50%).

Table 9-2: Adult group (parent), residential density and independent variables

Independent variables N=144		Case studies %			
		al-Sharafeyah	al-Salamah	al-Shate'e	Total
Dwelling	Villa	12	46	70.5	41.7
	Semi-detached	0	4	20.5	7.6
	Traditional house	4	0	0	1.4
	Apartment	84	50	9.1	49.3
Extent of residency	0-4	12	16	4.5	11.1
	5-9	56	20	9.1	29.2
	10-14	10	46	20.5	25.7
	15-19	10	10	56.8	24.3
	20 +	12	8	9.1	9.7
Ownership	Owner	20	44	79.5	46.5
	Tenant	78	56	18.2	52.1
	Other	2	0	2.3	1.4
Income	1-2000 SR	3	0	0	1.4
	2001-4000 SR	14	2	0	5.6
	2001-4000 SR	14	2	0	5.6
	4001-6000 SR	12	8	0	6.9
	6001-8000 SR	30	36	2.3	23.6
	8001-10000 SR	14	16	13.6	14.6
	10001-12000 SR	20	24	25	22.9
	Over 120001 SR	6	14	59.1	25

Source: Fieldwork, Jeddah, January 2007.

The larger percentage of respondents living in apartments in al-Sharafeyah can be attributed to the predominance of multi-storey buildings typical of the large scale housing projects in the southern section of the district. In contrast, while 70.5% (N=144) and 20.5% of adult respondents in the al-Shate'e district were living in villas and semi-detached villas respectively, only 12% of respondents in the al-Sharafeyah did so.

The results also show that building ownership was varied. As shown in Table 9-2, 46.5% (N=144) of the adult respondents in the case studies own their dwellings, 52.1% rent their homes, and the remaining 1.4% rely on their workplace or relatives to provide them with accommodation. By comparing these figures with the general proportions of home ownership in Jeddah, as indicated in the previous table (9-2), the percentage of residents who own their properties in the case studies is higher than it is in Jeddah overall (35.1%). As pointed out by Al-Otabi (2006), this can be attributed to the fact that house ownership is sought after by more people in the northern district of Jeddah (such as are described in our case studies) than in any other part of the city. A more in-depth analysis of the findings demonstrates that, while the majority of respondents in al-Shate'e (79.5%) and al-Salamah (44%) own their homes, the majority of respondents in al-Sharafeyah rent.

9.2.5 Extent of residency

Previous investigations into Jeddah housing developments (e.g. Fadan 1977; Bokhari 1978; Aziz-Alrahman 1985; Alharbi 1989; Jenaideb 1993; Al-Otabi 2006) indicate that a majority of Jeddah's inhabitants choose to live outside the traditional town in order to enjoy the private spaces afforded by low density residential areas. Moreover, these studies point out that most people living in the northern sector of Jeddah (where the study cases are located) have been attracted to these areas by a combination of factors such as the affordability of housing units, socio-demographic changes in the family, and satisfaction with neighbourhood status.

In responses to our comprehensive questionnaire, it was found that 11.1% (N=390) of the total sample had lived in their homes for 4 years or less, 29.2% for 5-9 years, 25.7% for 10-14 years, 24.3% for 15-19, and only 9.7% for 20 or more. However, as can be seen from Table 9-2, remarkable differences are found between the three case studies regarding duration of residence. For instance, while the proportion of those who had lived in al-Shate'e for 10 years and more equal 86.4%, with 62% in al-Salamah, the percentage of those who had lived for the same duration in al-Sharafeyah does not exceed 32%. Although al-Sharafeyah is an older district than the other case studies, 68% of its residents reported that they had not lived there for more

than 9 years. This can be attributed to the movement of al-Sharafeyah original residents to new and better quality housing units in other areas with much.

The socially diverse nature of the district, together with rundown state of its buildings and public amenities, such as its public spaces, have all been factors that not only forced its original residents to move to other areas, but also attracted others looking for low rental prices for housing units. Overall, as indicated in the in-depth interviews, the location of a dwelling is considered an important factor in household decisions related to house removals and periods of residence in the area. In the areas used for our case studies, the affordability of housing units and the need to be close to one's workplace was mentioned as the main reason for moving by most people in al-Sharafeyah, whereas the need for good facilities was given as the chief reason for moving to al-Shate'e and al-Salamah.

9.3 Recreational facilities and outdoor areas

Studies have shown that different cultures have different usage patterns for their use of public space and their engagement in recreational activities (e.g. Sasidharan, Willits et al. 2005; Turel, Malkoc et al. 2007). In Saudi Arabia, recent increases in personal income and the influences of modernization and new technology have created an individualistic style of life and redefined leisure time. Moreover, previous studies (e.g. Al-Shahrani 1992) indicate that in Jeddah, most of the people spend their leisure time in recreational areas outside their neighbourhoods, such as the Corniche area and the modern shopping centres.

Previous studies (Al-Nowaiser 1982; Sobahi 1995; Eben-Saleh 1997) have also pointed out that social interaction between individuals in Saudi cities has diminished to the point where some individuals have withdrawn totally inside their homes. The central concern of this study is not only to deal with the usage pattern of public spaces within modern residential areas in Jeddah but also to explore their socio-cultural-institutional aspects and representations. More to the point, it aims to examine the properties both within and surrounding public spaces within this context to understand their influence on outdoor physical and social activity. This study,

however, approaches the relationship between the different dimensions of public spaces and their users according to this question: How far are users' behaviours and attitudes towards public spaces within their neighbourhoods linked to the spatial, institutional and socio-cultural dimensions? And how far are these dimensions linked to the experience of public spaces?

9.3.1 Pattern of visits to recreational areas and public spaces

In an effort to understand the pattern of visits to recreational areas in general and the utilization of public spaces within the MRAJ in particular, a group of questions were put to the participants regarding their day-to-day experiences in their neighbourhoods. 'When you go out for recreational purposes, where do you usually go?' This question was put to both young and adult participants. Overall, responses from the adult and youth groups varied slightly. This variation will be discussed after a review of the responses of both groups and the dependent variables that affected those responses. **Figure 9-1** shows that the four most frequently chosen places for recreation were outside the neighbourhood, the sport clubs and recreational centres within the neighbourhood, home courtyards, and neighbouring homes; their proportions were 35.4%, 20.1%, 16%, and 6.9 respectively.

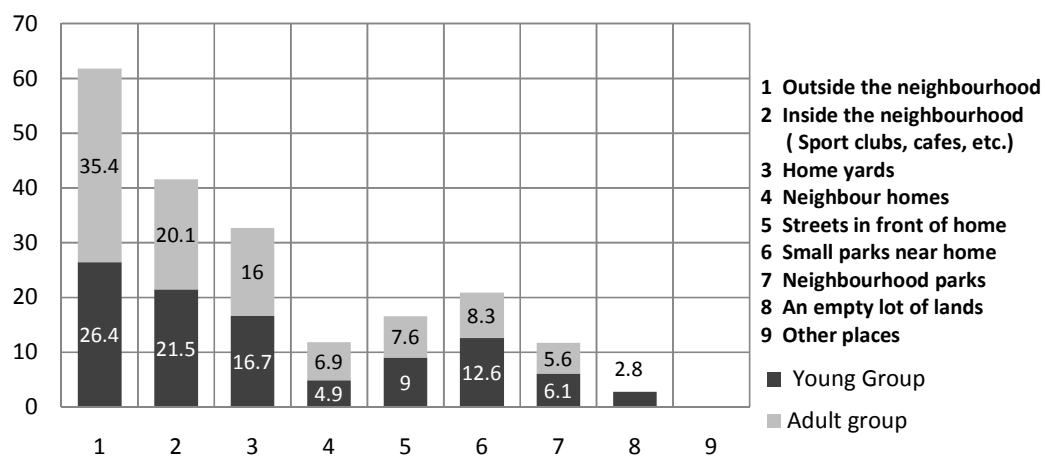


Fig 9-1: Adult and young groups and recreational areas. Source: Fieldwork, Jeddah, January 2007.

It can be inferred that the majority of adult participants (78.5%, N=144) prefer passive indoor recreational facilities and outdoor areas outside their neighbourhood

such as the Corniche area rather than being active in outdoor pursuits within their residential areas. For the remaining number (21.5%) who indicated that they visit outdoor areas within their neighbourhood, and frequent small parks near their homes, adjacent streets, and neighbourhood parks, the proportions were 7.6%, 8.3%, and 5.6% respectively.

As is the case in the adult group, the analysis of questionnaires of the young group demonstrates that the majority of the respondents (69.5%, N=246) prefer to entertain themselves either at home or at indoor recreational facilities such as sports clubs, theme parks, shopping centres, restaurants and cafes, rather than to be active in outdoor areas within their neighbourhoods. The figure also indicates that the proportion of adults (35.4, N=144) who go to recreational facilities outside their neighbourhoods is larger than that for young people (26.4% N=246). In contrast, the proportion of the youth group (30.5%) who indicated they go to outdoor areas within their neighbourhood for recreation is larger than in the adult group (21.5%). A close inspection of the data demonstrates that there was a statistically significant association at the level 0.05 between the variables of the case studies (building density) and the frequency of visits made by both adult and young respondents to recreational areas.

Table 9-3 shows that 54% (N=144) of adult respondents in al-Sharafeyah and 40% in al-Salamah entertain themselves in recreational facilities outside their neighbourhood and only 9.1% of respondents in al-Shate'e go to these areas. The table also shows that, while 56.8% of respondents in al-Shate'e visit recreational facilities and sport clubs that are available in their district, only 4% of respondents in the other two case studies reported that they visit similar places within their districts. This can be attributed to a lack of these amenities in these two districts.

The table also reveals that 37.8% (N=246) of young respondents in al-Sharafeyah (high density), 31.7% in al-Salamah (medium density), and 9.8% in al-Shate'e (low density) said that they usually go outside their neighbourhoods for recreational purposes. More in-depth analysis indicates that, while about one third of young respondents in al-Sharafeyah, and about half of those in al-Salamah reported that they

frequently visit outdoor areas within their neighbourhoods, only 14.7% of the respondents in al-Shate'e answered that they go to similar areas. This is because the majority of respondents in al-Shate'e come from high income families and live in villas where they have their own private yard. Therefore, it is logical that if there is a private yard, family members –especially the children – are expected to use it for their leisure activities rather than being active in outdoor areas.

Table 9-3: Where do you usually go for recreation?

	Al-Sharafeyah		Al-Salamah		Al-Shate'e		Total %	
	Adult	Young	Adult	Young	Adult	Young	Adult	Young
Outside neighbourhood	54	37.8	40	31.7	9.1	9.8	35.4	26.4
Neighbourhood club	4	7.3	4	8.5	56.8	48.8	20.1	21.5
Home yard	12	18.3	10	12.2	27.3	19.5	16	16.7
Neighbour's home	10	4.9	10	2.4	0	7.3	6.9	4.9
Street near home	20	22	2	4.9	0	0	7.6	9
Small park near home	0	4.9	18	22.0	6.8	11.0	8.3	12.6
Neighbourhood park	0	0	16	14.6	0	3.7	5.6	6.1
An empty lot	0	4.9	0	3.7	0	0	0	2.8

Source: Fieldwork, Jeddah, January 2007.

9.3.2 Type of visit to recreational places and outdoor areas

In order to gather information regarding the day-to-day recreational pattern, both adult and youth groups were asked when they usually go out for recreation. The responses from both groups were asked to indicate when outdoor recreation occurred in the most part at weekends, weekdays, both or neither. **Table 9-4** shows that weekend visits to recreational areas were more frequent than weekday visits in both adult and youth groups; their proportions are 53.5% and 50.8% respectively. Although adult group visits are slightly larger than those for the younger group, the proportion of young respondents who visit recreational areas on weekdays is larger than that of adult respondents. Overall, the incidence of visiting patterns is affected significantly by a group of independent variables. For greater elaboration, the responses have been cross-tabulated with these variables. The chi-square tests of

these responses reveal that they were dependent on five independent variables. These are: age, gender, income level, residential density and building type. These entire components were statistically significant at the five percent level.

Table 9-4: When you usually go out for recreation?

	Al-Sharafeyah		Al-Salamah		Al-Shate'e		Total %	
	Adult	Young	Adult	Young	Adult	Young	Adult	Young
Weekday	4	12.2	20	19.5	43.2	35.4	21.5	22.4
Weekend	74	59.8	44	59.8	40.9	32.9	53.5	50.8
Both	20	26.8	34	18.3	13.6	31.7	22.9	25.6
Neither	2	1.2	2	2.4	2.3	0	2.1	1.2

Source: Fieldwork, Jeddah, January 2007.

Although adult group visits are slightly larger than those for the younger group, the proportion of young respondents who visit recreational areas on weekdays is larger than that of adult respondents. Overall, the incidence of visiting patterns is affected significantly by a group of independent variables. For greater elaboration, the responses have been cross-tabulated with these variables. The chi-square tests of these responses reveal that they were dependent on five independent variables. These are: age, gender, income level, residential density and building type. These entire components were statistically significant at the five percent level.

Closer inspection of the table reveals that a majority (74%, N=144) of the adult respondents who live in al-Sharafeyah (high density) frequently visit recreational spots at the weekend. Similarly, about half of the adult respondents in al-Salamah (a medium density) frequently visit recreational facilities on weekends. The table also shows that the highest proportion of respondents who frequently visit recreational facilities on weekdays came from those who live in low residential areas (high-class neighbourhoods) such as al-Shate'e (43.2%). It should be noted here that the district social class and income level of the heads of households support these variables. The dependency is an expected one, for it seems logical that if one has the money and time one can afford regular visits to recreational facilities. As indicated in the course of in-depth interviews, while the main attractions for the residents of al-Shate'e are

the high quality shopping centre and the theme parks, the main attractions for those who live in al-Sharafeyah and al-Salamah are the Corniche area as well as the outdoor areas available within their neighbourhoods.

Our survey also reveals that the gender and nationality of the young participants group were significantly related to the likelihood of their visiting outdoor areas on the weekend. Additionally, the findings show that the variables of the case studies (residential density and building type) have a strong association with the likelihood of going to recreational areas. As indicated in the above table the proportion of respondents who go out at the weekend in al-Sharafeyah and al-Salamah are almost identical (59.8%), whereas only 32.9% of respondents in al-Shate'e do so. Overall, slightly more than half (50.8%) of the young respondents frequently go out only at the weekend. This is because, as they conveyed in some of the in-depth interviews, they do not have time and have homework to do. Likewise, the adult respondents indicated that they do not have time to go out on weekdays because they need to have a rest after a hard working day.

9.3.3 The consumption of the public spaces within the case studies

Many authors (e.g. Whyte 1980; Lange 1987; Madanipour 2006; Hamilton-Baillie 2008) argue that behaviour does not occur haphazardly. It observes general patterns and possesses some predictability. At a more applied level, public life in cities reflects the socio-cultural order and can be altered according to these dimensions. An examination of these aspects of public spaces will help us understand how people actually perceive them. This in turn will assist us in determining their appropriateness for both users and context. Previous empirical studies (e.g. Williams 2005; Kaczynski, Johnson et al. 2010; Loukaitou-Sideris and Sideris 2010) have shown that neighbourhood and public space attributes affect the frequency of visitation and physical activity at neighbourhood outdoor areas. These studies have found that both objective and subjective measures of neighbourhood safety may also affect public space usage level. Neighbourhood socio-demographic characteristic and racial composition have also been found to affect the use of public spaces.

In the following sections, the utilization of public spaces within the case studies will be explored. Principally, such utilization was explored according to determined variables such as frequency of use, physical activities, and reasons for not being regularly active in these spaces. Our survey confirms the findings of the aforementioned studies. As shown in the previous section and illustrated in **Figure 9-2** that the proportion of the younger group (30.5%, N=264) who indicated they go to outdoor areas within their neighbourhoods for recreation purposes is slightly larger than in the adult group (25.7%, N=144).

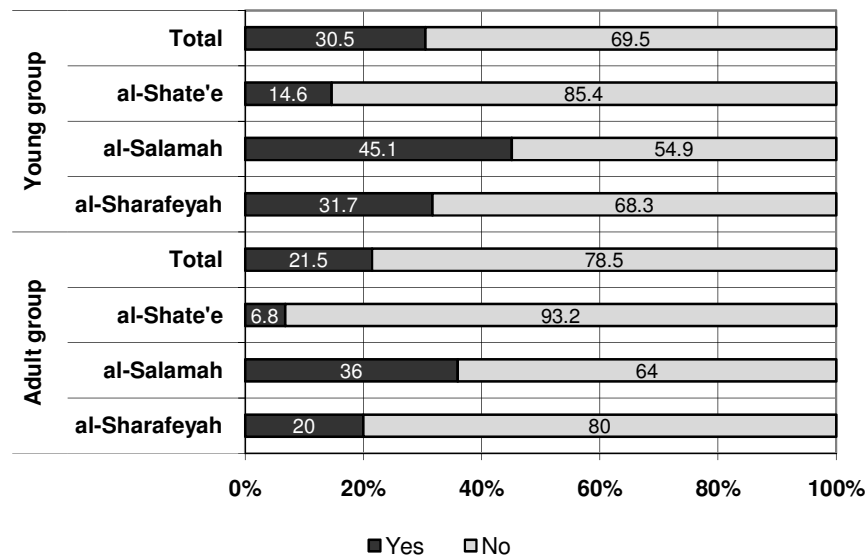


Figure 9-2: Are there park or outdoor area near your home that you visit?,
Source: Fieldwork, Jeddah, January 2007.

Based on **Table 9-5**, encompassing the variable visits of young respondents who indicated they go to public spaces within their neighbourhoods, such as streets and parks near their homes, four major variables seem to have significantly affected the responses of the participants. These are gender, age, educational level, and the residential density. As shown in the table, the likelihood of young male respondents (51.9% N=129) and children under 14 (43.4%, N=129) being active in these spaces is larger than it is for females and respondents aged between 15-29 years old. Moreover, the proportions of students from elementary and intermediate schools visiting outdoor spaces (46.7%, N=60 and 40.6%, N=69 respectively) are greater than the proportions of students of secondary schools. Additionally, children and youngsters in al-

Salamah district (45.1%, N=82) have a greater opportunity to expand their recreational sphere and pattern of plays to include outdoor spaces than in the other case studies. As will be explained later in section 9.6 in greater detail, this can be attributed to several factors such as the prevailing social milieu which has encouraged social interaction among residents of this district.

Table 9-5: Young group. The likelihood of independent variables affecting the responses to the question 'Are there parks or outdoor spaces near your home that you visit?'

N=264		%		Total within the question
		Yes	No	
Gender	Male	51.9	48.1	52.4
	Female	6.8	93.2	47.6
Chi-Square value = 58.886 df = 1, and Significance = .0001				
Age	0-14	43.4	56.6	52.4
	15-29	16.2	83.8	47.6
Chi-Square value = 21.374, df = 2, and Significance = .0001				
Educational level	Elementary school	46.7	53.3	24.4
	Intermediate	40.6	59.4	28.0
	Secondary school	16.2	83.8	47.6
Chi-Square value = 21.935, df = 2, and Significance = .0001				
Residential density	High (al-Sharafeyah)	31.7	68.3	33.3
	Medium (al-Salamah)	45.1	54.9	33.3
	Low (al-Shate'e)	14.6	85.4	33.3
Chi-Square value = 18.069, df = 2, and Significance = .0001				

* Fieldwork, Jeddah, January 2007.

Likewise, **Table 9-6**, encompassing the cross-tabulation of the responses of adult group who indicated they go to outdoor spaces within their neighbourhoods, reveals that four major variables significantly affected the responses of participants from this group. These are gender, age, income level, and the status of their district in terms of building density and social class. As shown in the table, the likelihood of male (34.5%, N=84) respondents and individuals in the age range 30-44 (16%, N=100) visiting outdoor spaces in their residential environment is greater than for females and other age groups within this sample. Similarly, the tendency (35.3%, N=34) of respondents with middle-class

incomes (60001-8000SR) to go out regularly to these spaces is greater than it is for other income groups. Moreover, as was the case in the younger group, the proportion of adult respondents in al-Salamah district (36%, N=50) who regularly visit these outdoor areas for recreational purposes is more than in the other case studies.

Table 9-6: Adult group. The likelihood of independent variables affecting the responses to the question 'Are there parks or outdoor spaces near your home that you visit?'

N=144		%		Total within the question
		Yes	No	
Gender	Male	34.5	65.5	58.3
	Female	3.3	96.3	41.7
	Chi-Square value = 20.156 , df = 1, and Significance = .0000			
Age	30-44	16	84	69.4
	45-59	35.3	64.7	23.6
	60 +	30	70	6.9
	Chi-Square value =6.048 , df = 2, and Significance = .049			
Income level	1-2000 SR	0	100	1.4
	2001-4000 SR	0	100	5.6
	4001-6000 SR	10	90	6.9
	6001-8000 SR	35.3	64.7	23.6
	8001-10000 SR	14.3	85.7	14.6
	0001-12000 SR	24.2	75.8	22.9
	Over 120001 SR	19.4	80.6	25.0
	Chi-Square value = 8.233, df = 6, and Significance = .022			
Residential density	High (al-Sharafeyah)	20	80	34.7
	Medium (al-Salamah)	36	64	34.7
	Low (al-Shate'e)	6.8	93.2	30.6
	Chi-Square value = 11.904, df = 2, and Significance = .003			

* Fieldwork, Jeddah, January 2007.

Overall, these findings indicate that different groups show different usages of public spaces but also back up the argument that the more appropriate public spaces are available, the more residents use them, as was the case in al-Salamah district. Our finding also corresponds to observations in urban planning and design research on public spaces

and leisure activities in Saudi cities (e.g. Al-Shahrani 1992; Hammadi 1993; Sobahi 1995). The analysis shows that the low presence of people in public spaces within modern residential areas can be attributed to the degraded quality of these spaces which grow incompatible with their users and context as decline and deterioration become their predominant characteristics.

9.3.4 Public space proximity and accessibility

Mariela Alfonzo (2005) suggests that spatial accessibility is considered as the most fundamental aspect of the built environment that affects individual decisions to walk within a residential area. After accessibility, safety, comfort and pleasure are proposed as the other important environmental characteristics of the built environment. Moreover, she indicates that accessibility measures include the presence of environmental aspects such as public spaces and pedestrian networks (Alfonzo, Boarnet et al. 2008). Likewise, Cohen, McKenzie et al (2007) point out that one visits a public space depending on its accessibility and proximity to one's dwelling. In an effort to explore how public spaces within the case studies are accessible, respondents were asked to indicate how they travel to outdoor spaces and the frequency of their visits, and to estimate the time taken to travel from their homes to these spaces. Overall, there are significance differences at the 0.05 level in the responses of both adult and young groups across the different case studies.

9.3.4.1 Proximity of public spaces

Regarding the question 'how do you usually commute to the park or play area you usually visit?' the respondents of the adult group who indicated they have a public park or outdoor space they usually visit (21.5%, N =144) reported three modes of commuting: foot, car and being driven by someone else. Their proportions are 77.4% (N= 31), 12.9%, and 9.7% respectively (**Table 9-7**). Statistically significant differences at less than the 0.05 level were found among the responses from the participants of the different case studies. As demonstrated in the table, the proportions of respondents who walk to outdoor spaces in different case studies are 100% in al-Sharafeyah, 72% in al-Salamah, and 33.3% in al-Shate'e. The table also shows that while 22.2% of the participants who live in al-Salamah reported they go to these spaces by car, 66.7% of respondents in al-Shate'e

indicated they were usually driven to these spaces. In response to the question about 'how long would it take you to walk from your home to this park', as shown in the table, about three quarters of participants (74.2%, N= 31) reported it would take them 1 to 10 minutes, 12.9% indicated it would take 6-10 minutes, and the remaining 12.9% stated it would take them 11-15 minutes. Although both the mean and median of responses were equal to 5.32 which indicate that these responses were normally distributed, the differences among the responses regarding the period taken to travel from their homes to local spaces were not statistically significant when adjusted to case studies.

Table 9-7: Proximity of public spaces within the case studies

		Al-Sharafeyah		Al-Salamah		Al-Shate'e		Total %	
		Adult	Young	Adult	Young	Adult	Young	Adult	Young
How do you commute?	Foot	100	88.5	72.2	78.4	33.3	66.7	77.4	80
	Bicycle	0	11.5	22.2	21.6	0	16.7	12.9	17.3
	Driven	0	0	5.6	0	66.7	16.7	9.7	2.7
Time of trip (minutes)	1-5	100	76	61.1	75	66.7	25	74.2	67.1
	6-10	0	12	22.2	13.9	0	58.3	12.9	20.5
	11-15	0	12	16.7	11.1	33.3	16.7	12.9	12.3

Source: Fieldwork, Jeddah, January 2007.

The above table also shows that the respondents of the young group who indicated they have a public park or outdoor space they usually visit (30.5%, N= 264) reported three modes of commuting: foot, car and being driven by someone else. Their proportions were (80%, N= 75), 17.3%, and 2.7% respectively. Significant associations at the 0.05 level were found among the responses from the young participants of the different case studies. As demonstrated in the above table, the proportion of the young respondents who walk to outdoor spaces in different case studies are 88.5% in al-Sharafeyah, 78.4% of in al-Salamah , and 66.7% in al-Shate'e.

The table also shows that, while 22.2% of the participants who live in al-Salamah reported they are driven to these spaces, none of the respondents in al-Sharafeyah are driven by car to where they play as most of these places are near their homes. In

response to the question about 'how long would it take you to walk from your home to this park', as shown in the above table, well over half of participants (67.1%, N= 75) reported it would take them 1 to 5 minutes, 20.5% indicated it would take 6-10 minutes, and the remaining 12.3% stated it would take them 11-15 minutes. Whereas the median of responses equal to 5, the mean was equal to 6.92 which indicate that these responses slightly deviated for normal distribution. Statistically significant differences at less than the 0.05 level were found among the responses from the participants of the different case studies regarding the period taken to travel from their homes to these spaces.

9.3.4.2 Frequency of visit

When the respondents of the adult and young groups group were asked how often each week they used the outdoor space that they visit in both winter and summer, the responses varied according to different case studies and the summer/winter variations. Our chi-square tests of these responses indicate that these differences were statistically significant at the 0.5 level and 0.01 levels, respectively. **Table 9-8** reveals that 66.7% (N=31) of adult respondents visit outdoor spaces within their neighbourhoods twice a week in summer and half of them visit these spaces four times a week in winter. Likewise, the table reveals that 45.2% (N=75) of young respondents visit outdoor spaces within their neighbourhoods twice a week in summer and 41.9% of them four times a week in winter. Thus, for example, almost half of the participants who indicated they go to outdoor areas stated they visit these areas twice or more per week in summer and four times or more per week in winter.

Although the difference is especially marked in the number of visits made in winter, it can be inferred from our findings that the inclement microclimate conditions, especially high temperatures, play a major role in deterring respondents' presence in outdoor settings. As will be explained later in section 4.9.1, one of the chief reasons participants in different case studies gave for never visiting outdoor areas is the unfavourable climate. More of the responses from both youth and adult groups indicate that there were statistically significant differences at the 0.05 level in regard to the reported frequency of visits to outdoor areas over different case studies. Our chi-square tests of the responses of adult and young participants reveal that public spaces in al-Salamah tend to attract more adult

participants than the outdoor areas in the other two case studies. Whereas the majority of young participants (66.7%) in al-Shate'e district actively use outdoor areas once a week in summer, 42.3% of young respondents in al-Sharafeyah visits these areas twice a week.

Table 9-8: Percentage frequencies of visits to public spaces within the case studies

		Al-Sharafeyah		Al-Salamah		Al-Shate'e		Total %	
		Adult	Young	Adult	Young	Adult	Young	Adult	Young
Summer visits	1	7.7	2.7	66.7	14.7	0	0	33.3	3.2
	2	42.3	59.5	33.3	49.3	50	38.9	66.7	45.2
	3	19.2	27	0	20	10	44	0	29
	4	23.1	10.8	0	13.3	20	16.7	0	16.1
	5	0	0	0	0	20	0	0	6.5
	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	7	7.7	0	0	2.7	0	0	0	0
Winter visits	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	2	15.4	10.8	25	14.7	0	0	0	0
	3	15.4	54.1	66.7	42.7	0	11.1	50	12.9
	4	61.5	13.5	8.3	29.3	40	44.4	7.7	41.9
	5	0	16.2	0	8	40	38.9	0	35.5
	6	0	0	0	0	20	5.6	0	9.7
	7	0	5.4	0	5.3	0	0	0	0

Source: Fieldwork, Jeddah, January 2007.

One adult male respondent in al-Sharafeyah (a high density area) who lives in one of the tower blocks reported that:

Hot air temperature and sunlight are the dominant factors in relation to the use of space; as temperature rises significantly, presence of people is reduced. In summer, people usually attend outdoor areas in the evening after 4:30 pm, coinciding with the period small children would be taken to the playground and elderly people meeting up in areas close to the mosque to exchange news before they perform the sunset prayer. Some teenager and adults usually play football in the playfield after they say the dawn prayer at 6:00 am, and their number drop as the day moves towards the afternoon. During winter, daytime attendance is higher than in the summer, the morning use of spaces is limited, and most people start to

take part in public association at 4:00 or earlier and stay until 10:30 pm even during working days. In general, morning use in summer is higher than for winter, and visitors prefer to sit in shaded areas such as in between tower blocks, whereas in winter the important open spaces and football courts are more popular (interview 2007, translated from Arabic).

Some children, primarily girls, say that it is uncomfortable to sit or actively participate in outdoor spaces or other places exposed to direct sunlight in high temperatures when wearing their veils. Moreover, one male teenager who lives in al-Shate'e points out that because he lives next to the Seashore, he and his friends don't go outside in summer, saying they cannot tolerate both glaring sunlight and increased humidity. Another adult male respondent who lives in the same district states that 'no-one can adapt himself to this extreme weather even if he removes his clothing, for it is just like being in an outdoor sauna'. In general, these remarks provide a concise articulation of the limits of the microclimate which make it difficult for people to withstand the hot weather and feel comfortable while engaging in outdoor settings. This has also confirmed our view of the urgency of considering environmental protection techniques such as shelter from the sun as part of public space provision.

9.3.5 Activities in public spaces

Outdoor activities in public spaces can be classified into seven categories: 1) necessary activities such as shopping or going to work, 2) optional solitary activities such as going out to enjoy fresh air or to walk through a park or just to be alone; 3) social activities such as greetings, conversation, walking with a friend; 4) team-related activities such as playing football or throwing frisbees; 5) physical exercises such as running and jogging, 6) food-related activities such as eating and barbecuing; and 7) other communal activities such as parties (Sasidharan, Willits et al. 2005). The major objective of this section is to provide information about public space usage patterns and the social milieu within these spaces. In this respect, the participants of young and adult groups were asked three questions: With whom do you usually go out to play? When do you normally visit this outdoor space, how long does this visit last? And what are the most activities you actually engage in this park? (Questions 21, 22, and 23 Appendix 1; and questions 15, 16, and 17 appendix 2.) Overall, there were both important similarities and significance

differences among the respondents in both groups and among the respondents in different case studies.

9.3.5.1 Social milieu

Table 9-9 provides data concerning the social milieu in public spaces, adjusted for case study variables. It shows that the majority (80.6%, N=31) of adult respondents indicated that they usually visit outdoor spaces within neighbourhoods with friends. Few individuals from the different case studies stated that they visited outdoor spaces with their families or alone. Respondents from al-Shate'e district were the most likely to visit these spaces alone. We found statistically significance differences at the 0.01 level not only by case study but also by age.

Table 9-9: Social milieu and length of visit to outdoor spaces

		Al-Sharafeyah		Al-Salamah		Al-Shate'e		Total %	
		Adult	Young	Adult	Young	Adult	Young	Adult	Young
With whom do you usually visit this park?	Alone	10	15.4	0	2.7	66.7	0	9.7	6.7
	With friend (s)	70	84.6	94.4	97.3	33.3	33.3	80.6	82.7
	With family	20	0	5.6	0	0	41.7	9.7	6.7
	With relative	0	0	0	0	0	25	0	4
How long does this Visit last?	Less than Hour	10	7.7	0	2.7	0	16.7	3.2	6.6
	One hour	40	11.5	0	51.4	0	66.7	12.9	40
	Two hours	30	46.2	66.7	21.6	0	0	48.4	26.7
	More than two	20	34.6	33.3	24.3	100	16.7	35.5	26.7

Source: Fieldwork, Jeddah, January 2007.

There were also significant differences at the 0.05 level in regard to the reported length of time spent on an outdoor visit. As shown in the table, the majority of adult respondents (48.4%, N=31) reported that they visit these spaces for two hours, while only 3.2% reported they visited these spaces for less than an hour. However, the reported tendency to visit these spaces for two hours is greater in al-Salamah district than it is in al-

Sharafeyah. Respondents from al-Shate'e district were the most likely to indicate that their visits lasted more than two hours.

The table also shows the responses to the two questions about the visits made by the younger sample and their use of outdoor spaces within their residential areas: how long their visits lasted and how many companions took part. Statistically significant differences at less than the 0.05 level in the responses to these questions were found after adjusting these responses to account for the case studies and building types. As is the case in adult respondents, the majority of young people questioned (82.7%, N=75) reported that they usually visit these public spaces with friends. A further 6.7% said they visited these spaces alone and another 6.7% reported that they visit with family, while only 4% said they visited these places with relatives. The table also shows that the young respondents' visits to these spaces generally lasted one hour (82.7%, N=75). However, the reported tendency to visit these spaces for an hour or less is greater in al-Shate'e and al-Salamah than in al-Sharafeyah where the majority of its respondents reported that their visits lasted two hours (46.2%).

The differences in responses to the question of how long visits took were statistically significant at less than the 0.05 level, not only by case study but also by age, gender, and race. Whereas adult participants stay at public spaces for about two hours, the majority of young participants only stay one hour. While the majority of Saudi respondents indicated that they stay at outdoor areas for one hour at a time, the overwhelming majority of non-Saudis (92.4%, N=75) stay two hours or more. Moreover, male children stay significantly longer than females. As will be explained in greater detail in the next section, a prominent reason given by the younger group for never visiting outdoor areas or visiting them with their friends was – as pointed out by Tonkiss (2005) – estrangement from others and social differences. In addition to this, parents lacked the time to accompany their children, resulting in a lack of adult supervision. Accordingly, their families do not allow them to go outside. All these factors meant that children had a limited presence in outdoor areas.

9.3.5.2 What bring participants to local public spaces?

When we asked about the frequency of participation in various activities in their outdoor space visits, there were significant differences at the level 0.05 level among the responses of the adult group in the case studies. As shown in **Table 9-10**, after categorising the responses and aggregating the frequencies of the type of these activities, we found that the top three were: first, the social activities (43.5%, N=31) and aggregate frequencies = 27); second, the community activities (19.4%); and, third, the physical exercises (19.4%). Although social activities were reported as the most likely activity by adult respondents, the incidence of participating in these activities did differ significantly by case study. While in al-Sharafeyah and al-Salamah respondents mentioned that they participated in these activities, none of respondents in al-Shate'e reported that they participate in both social and community activities; instead they participate in physical exercises or solitary activities.

Table 9-10: Number of two mentions of recreational activities in the case studies

	al-Sharafeyah		al-Salamah		al-Shate'e		Aggregate Frequencies		% Frequencies	
	Young	Adult	Young	Adult	Young	Adult	Young	Adult	Young	Adult
Social activities	25	10	22	17	1	0	48	27	32	43.5
Community activities	0	5	4	7	0	0	4	12	2.5	19.4
Physical exercises	0	2	18	7	10	3	28	12	19	19.4
Team activities	27	0	30	5	12	0	69	5	46	8.1
Solitary activities	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	3	0	4.8
Food-related activities	0	3	0	0	1	0	1	3	0.5	4.8
Total	52	20	74	36	24	6	150	62	100	100

Fieldwork, Jeddah, January 2007.

Overall, the least popular activities for the adult respondents were solitary and food-related activities and here again there were differences in the responses of participants between the different case studies. While the respondents in al-Shate'e and al-Sharafeyah reported the greatest participation in food-related activities, none of the respondents in al-Salamah reported that they engaged in them. While the respondents in al-Shate'e reported

that they participate in solitary activities, none of the respondents in the other two case studies declared that they engaged in such activities within public spaces in their residential areas. This is because al-Shate'e area is located adjacent to the Corniche sector where people can enjoy walking along the sea-side. The above table also shows the types of activities in which young respondents engaged during their visits to outdoor spaces within their neighbourhoods. Unlike the adult respondents, team activities were reported as the most likely activity by young respondents (Percentage of aggregated frequencies is 46%, N=75). However, the incidence of participation in these activities did differ significantly through the case studies and nationality at less than the 0.01 and 0.05 levels respectively. Social activities such as walking with friends vied for second place for young respondents (32%), but the level of engagement in such activities differs significantly from one case study to another.

As shown in the table, while about one third of respondents who indicated they go to outdoor areas within their neighbourhood in al-Sharafeyah and al-Salamah mentioned that they participated in these activities, none of the respondents in al-Shate'e were interested in doing so; instead they participated in physical exercise or solitary activities. The third most popular activity for young respondents is physical exercise and here again there were differences in the responses of participants from case study to case study. While the respondents in al-Shate'e and al-Salamah reported the greatest participation in such activities, none of the respondents in al-Sharafeyah reported that they engaged in them. Interestingly, almost half of the young respondents in the three case studies who indicated that they play in outdoor areas stated that they preferred organized activities and, 83.1% of those who expressed that preference were Saudis. Moreover, in responding to an open-ended question asking those who prefer these organised activities why this was the case, many indicated that 'it is more fun when you get into competition with others,' 'playing in a structured way encourages you to get fit and improve your playing capabilities,' 'team activities prepare you to join prominent football clubs'. On the flip side, children who did not prefer team activities said that 'we don't have too much free time for engaging in regulated activities', 'watching team activities is more fun while you are socialising with your friend', 'we do not have the skill to play football or basket ball'.

Overall, while social activities such as greetings, conversation, or walking with a friend are the most significant factors attracting adults, active recreation facilities and sports programmes are the activities that draw most young participants. Moreover, our findings provide possible evidence of segregation and fear of strangers. More to the point, the view of some writers (e.g. Carr, Francis et al. 1992), that the public spaces are an arena where different social groups come together, does not seem to have been realised in the majority of the parks in the case studies. Thus, as suggested in the literature (e.g. Carmona, Heath et al. 2003; Madanipour 2006; Hamilton-Baillie 2008; Talen 2008; Townshend and Lake 2008 ; Loukaitou-Sideris and Sideris 2010) understanding the relationship between the activities carried out in public spaces by diverse communities and the spatial qualities of these spaces can help urban designers and urban specialists promote a broader view of how to maximize opportunities in order to create shared spaces, improve existing public space provisions, and secure new facilities.

9.4. Limiting factors for activity in public spaces

In acquiring a better understanding of the limited factors for activity in public spaces within the three case studies, the adult and young participants were asked to mark four of the ten statements regarding expected obstacles for their participation in outdoor spaces within their neighbourhoods. These are contained in Question 25 in the comprehensive questionnaire and Question 22 in the young respondents' questionnaire (Appendixes 1 and 2). They deal with specific socio-cultural and spatial issues of the practice of public space provision. These aspects can be considered as gauges of subjective and objective aspects of this practice (Bonaiuto, Fornara et al. 2003). More to the point, these statements form an index measuring the perceived public space problems that each respondent had experienced.

9.4.1 What hinders adult respondents?

Table 9-11 reveals that there is a statistically significant difference at less than the specified alpha value of 0.5 in all responses for the ten categories. It also shows that the four major issues of public space provision as perceived by adult respondents are: there is no choice of activities that may encourage them to take part in outdoor activities within

their neighbourhoods (83.3%, N=144), traffic noise and speed of cars (79.9%) the lack of shade and climatic protection (70.8%), and the lack of safety and security measures (46.5%).

Table 9-11: Answers given by adult and young participants to the question 'which of the following issues are the four factors limiting activity in the local parks in your neighbourhood?'

	% al-Sharafeyah		% al-Salamah		% al-Shate'e		% Total	
	Young	Adult	Young	Adult	Young	Adult	Young	Adult
There is no adult supervision	87.8	52	62.2	28	87.8	38.6	79.3	39.6
Too much sun and lack of shade	80.5	53	64.6	88	79.3	72.7	74.8	70.8
Traffic noise and speed of cars	78	54	54.9	98	84.1	88.6	72.4	79.9
It is not safe (crime, gangs)	79.3	62	47.6	32	75.6	45.5	67.5	46.5
There is no choice of activities	72	92	41.5	70	68.3	88.6	60.6	83.3
There is no suitable space	26.8	36	20.7	14	18.3	25	22	25
There are too many people there	14.6	20	2.4	34	17.1	22.7	11.4	25.7
It is difficult to get to	2.4	28	4.9	30	2.4	31.8	3.3	29.9
There is no good street lighting	2.4	16	0	8	1.2	11.4	1.2	11.8

Source: Fieldwork, January 2007.

As confirmed in both the quantitative and in-depth interviews of this research, the low level of activity in outdoor areas can be attributed to several factors such as the lack of accessibility, the lack of safety and security measures, and the noise and speed of traffic, but it seems that location within an undesirable social milieu is considered together with the hot climate major factors. Most complaints about the existing quality of outdoor areas within the residential areas under investigation are directly related to the increasing scale of urban development and the fast movement of cars. Many people in these areas complained about the lack of pedestrian networks and appropriate public spaces within the residential clusters. Moreover, the majority of them think that existing climatic conditions are not being taken into consideration in the planning of neighbourhoods in general and the allocation of public spaces in particular. As will be explained in greater detail in the next chapter, in addition to dissatisfaction with the socially diverse nature of

neighbourhoods, such a situation reduced the level of people's satisfaction with their living environment

9.4.2 What deters young respondents?

When young respondents were asked about the main obstacles to participation in outdoor spaces within their neighbourhoods, although the responses varied from those of the adult group, there were some similarities insofar as both groups viewed the absence of safety and security measures, alongside the extremely hot climate, as the major limiting factors. Additionally, respondents of both groups viewed the speed of cars as being the main obstacle to letting toddlers play outside as well as to adult socialization. Such traffic movement, together with an absence of sidewalks and pedestrian walkways, made it difficult for residents from the different case studies to access the available outdoor spaces.

Table 9-11 also shows the top four issues of public space provision as perceived by young respondents. These are: the lack of adult supervision (79.3%, N=246), the lack of shade and climatic protection (74.8%), the speed and noise of cars (72.4%) and the lack of safety and security measures (67.5%). Statistically significant differences at less than the 0.05 level were also found after adjusting the responses of different limiting factors to the variable of each case study. As indicated in the table, the majority of young respondents in al-Sharafeyah and al-Shate'e (87.8%) reported the lack of adult supervision as a major factor that limits their participation in outdoor spaces; 62% of respondents in al-Salamah agree with this statement. This can be attributed to the larger proportion of young people in al-Salamah who regularly use the available public spaces with their friends than the proportions in other case studies. This in turn gave them a greater opportunity to expand their recreational sphere within outdoor spaces without a need for adult supervision. A plausible explanation is that the overcrowding alongside the diverse lifestyle, interest and values in al-Sharafeyah district have reduced the safety measures and this in turn negatively affects residents' use of outdoor areas (Loukaitou-Sideris and Sideris 2010).

Broadly, the difference between the two groups was that, while the adult respondents viewed the lack of choice of activities as major factors in limiting their presence in

outdoor spaces, young respondents were of the opinion that the lack of adult supervision and the fear of criminal and sub-criminal threats (e.g. theft, assault, disorderly behaviour and child abduction) were the major factor (Pain and Townshend 2002). The difference may be because the adult respondents had less time to spend outdoors, especially since there was little choice of activities to engage in within these spaces. The difference also lies in the fact that children do not like to go out without their parents or friends, particularly where strangers and young people frequently get together and create a public nuisance. This held true not only in high-density areas into which strangers were attracted from outside, but also in low-density areas, such as al-Shate'e, whose outdoor spaces were not overlooked by surrounding buildings, and where passers-by frequently take advantage of this to commandeer the privacy and safety of the neighbourhood.

9.4.3 The quality of public space management and maintenance

In urban planning and design literature, most writers (e.g. Newman 1980; Marcus and Sarkissian 1986; Sorkin 1992; Loukaitou-Sideris and Banerjee 1998; Madanipour, Hull et al. 2001; Carmona, de-Magalhaes et al. 2008) fundamentally criticise inappropriate design along with over- and under-management of public space as the main causes for their decline. This in turn encourages uncivil behaviour, heightened fear of crime, and related activities such as litter, graffiti and vandalism. In this respect, it has been argued that people typically act in accordance with their reading of environment cues (Relph 1976; Canter 1977; Rapoport 1982).

Based on this emphasis, Carmona and De-Magalhaes (2006: 76) point out that the perception of users (whether that perception is positive or negative) is attributed to quality of management and maintenance more than to the original design. Moreover, they point out that the failure of public space management 'to deal promptly with other signs of decay such as graffiti or kerb crawlers can lead to the impression that no one cares, and quickly propel an area into decline'. More inceptions of the data in tables 9-10 and 9-11 regarding the factors that limit respondents' participation in outdoor spaces in the case studies support the finding of the aforementioned studies. There is a widely held view among respondents that the lack of well maintained public spaces is one of the major obstacles curbing their frequent presence in outdoor areas. Although this issue was

ranked very much lower than that of the extremely hot climate and lack of safety and security measures, most of the respondents interviewed consistently deplored under-management and the degraded state of external public spaces.

9.4.3.1 Irresponsible public attitude and insufficient cleaning

In chapter 6 (section 6.3), the findings of the qualitative survey of this research (in-depth interviews with Jeddah Municipality officials) reveals that the key challenges associated with public space provision and management in Jeddah are related to resource allocation, enforcement of regulations and effectiveness of maintenance, whilst the co-ordination of these challenges was an overarching concern. To gain more insight into resident perceptions of the quality of public space management and the maintenance regime, adult respondents were asked 'what are the most two significant problems facing the residents of your neighbourhood with the methods of regulating and maintaining these public spaces?' After categorising the responses and aggregating the frequencies of the problems mentioned above, we found that the top four problems with public space management were: first, irresponsible attitudes among the public (24%, N=144); second, insufficient cleaning (21.3%); third, a lack of maintenance for public amenities and infrastructures(20.2%); and fourth, the lack of coordination among different agencies in charge of public service delivery (11.3%), such as landscaping, street lighting, pavement drainage, water supply, and telephone (**Table 9-12**).

The findings also revealed that, while almost half of the adult residents in the al-Sharafeyah district (a high density area) and one third of the respondents in al-Shate'e expressed their unhappiness with irresponsible public attitudes, 61% of the respondents in al-Salamah deplored the lack of coordination and the inappropriate methods of constructing new public projects such as sewage and drainage systems. These differences were statistically significant at less than the 0.05 level. As indicated in chapter 6 (section 6.3), in consequence of this irresponsible public attitude, many public spaces and vacant lands are filled with trash and human waste. In some other situations, the landscaping and furniture of public parks may be destroyed by antisocial behaviour, as happened in al-Salamah district, where the trees and shrubs that were planted to show the status of the spaces were vandalised by anti-social behaviour. This situation forced

residents to develop direct physical interventions such as fencing the park to avoid any kind of appropriation or illegal use of the park. The survey also reveals that many stretches of public space have suffered appropriations promoted by governmental authorities or their private contractors in charge of public amenities. One example is the recent erection of portable cabins and a telecommunications mast in one of the major parks in al-Salamah district, and using another park in the same district as a storage area for sewer pipes. Such illegal appropriation of outdoor spaces is not only attributable to irresponsible attitudes on the part of some contractors but also to the poor quality of public space management and the lack of by-laws to control illegal activities in public areas, such as leafleting, unauthorized trading, vehicle abandonment, littering and dumping garbage.

Table 9-12: Number of mentions of the chief problems with methods of regulating public space provision within the case studies.

Rank of issues	Case study (2 mentions/person)				
	al-Sharafeyah	al-Salamah	al-Shate'e	Aggregated Frequencies	% Frequencies
1) Irresponsible public attitude	35	16	19	70	24
2) Insufficient cleaning	27	15	19	61	21.3
3) Lack of Maintenance	25	14	19	58	20.2
4) Lack of coordination	1	20	12	33	11.5
5) Weak enforcement of by-laws	4	16	11	31	10.8
6) Weak implementation	5	15	5	25	8.7
7) Bureaucracy and delay	3	4	3	10	3.5
Total Frequencies	100	100	88	288	100

Source: Fieldwork, January 2007

9.4.3.2 Lack of maintenance as a problem

When the municipality officials were asked about the main challenge they are facing in regulating public spaces in Jeddah, the common answer was the lack of financial resources to enable them to provide for the upkeep of existing public spaces and to fund the construction of new ones. Similarly, when adult respondents were asked 'what are the two most significant problems facing the residents of your neighbourhood with the methods of regulating and maintaining these public spaces?', as shows in table 9-12, the

insufficient cleaning and lack of maintenance was among the top four issues. More delving into the data reveals that almost half of the adult respondents from al-Sharafeyah district (a high density area) have expressed more dissatisfaction with the lack of maintenance of outdoor spaces than the respondents in other two case studies. These differences in the respondent's perceptions were statistically significant at the 0.05 level. Moreover, this finding corresponds with the result of the physical survey which revealed that, in al-Sharafeyah, the relatively high density district (most of the houses in poor condition are occupied by informal construction workers), the types of buildings together with the existence of many vacant plots full of construction waste, damaged or abandoned vehicles, or comprising houses under construction of which many had been left untouched for many years, degraded the quality of outdoor spaces and negatively affected the sense of safety and security. One male respondent in al-Salamah, for example, who lives in a high density residential cluster, proximate to endless ribbon commercial developments along the major roads, reported that:

'Although there are plenty of spaces, to the residents of this neighbourhood these neglected spaces were not distributed in a way that making places for the children to play or adult to socialise. Additionally, the contractor of the municipality who in charge of maintaining the parks is usually irrigate the plants and grass with sewer water which gives bad smell and discourage people from sitting there. In my opinion, these spaces were not allocated for recreational purpose or as a local playable space but for residents and shops keepers to dispose their wastes there for the municipality to collect them later. We as citizen we have that something urgently needs to be done and the municipality is not legally or financially capable of dealing with theses cleaning issues ' (Interview 2007, translated from Arabic).

Overall, the responses of the participants in the face-to-face questionnaires survey in this respect not only confirm the findings of the qualitative survey of this research (in-depth interviews with Jeddah Municipality officials) but are also congruent to the result of previous studies conducted on the same topic (e.g. Al-Shahrani 1992; Hammadi 1993; Sobahi 1995). The studies reveals that key challenges associated with public space provision and management in Jeddah are related to resource allocation, enforcement of regulations and effectiveness of maintenance, whilst the co-ordination of these challenges was an overarching concern. Therefore, better management and effective monitoring system is urgently needed if we are to establish public space quality and animating the urban environment.

9.5 A discussion of the findings

This chapter presents some of the findings of the field survey, concentrating on the contexts of physical recreation and the consumption of public spaces within the three contrasted residential areas in terms of residential density, all areas selected as case studies. The chapter aims to examine the effect of the spatial orientation of public spaces and the socio-economic differences between residents vis-à-vis visitation patterns and physical activity. Social aspects are also investigated; concentrating on population characteristics and revealing both the reasons that attract and hinder a public presence in outdoor areas. In respect of both closed- and open-ended questions included in our survey, we found participant responses to be generally consistent. This suggests that both adult and youth groups understand the concepts behind the questions included in both the face-to-face questionnaires and the in-depth interviews. Our analysis confirms that the low numbers of people in outdoor areas within modern residential areas are due, not only to changes in lifestyle, the fragmentation of urban fabric, and the extremely hot climate, but also to deficiencies in urban design and the management qualities of public spaces.

With regard to changes in lifestyle, our data suggest that although outdoor recreation occurred on both weekdays and weekends, almost half of the respondents indicate that their weekend visits were more frequent than those during the week. For younger respondents, this is because they do not have time to make visits, and have homework to do. Likewise, adult respondents indicated that they do not have time to go out on weekdays because they need to have a rest after a hard working day. The results of our analysis also show that more than two thirds of respondents have a sedentary lifestyle and visit indoor recreational areas inside or outside their neighbourhoods only in their leisure time. The use of recreational facilities located outside people's own neighbourhoods is partly because of the degraded qualities and inadequate recreational facilities within their residential areas, and partly because respondents are attracted by the Corniche area and the shopping centres along the major streets such as al-Tahleyah Road, which provide modern recreational facilities such as theme parks, sports clubs, restaurants, and cafés as a means of attracting customers. Most of these entertainment spots are located indoors and are equipped with air-conditioning in marked contrast to outdoor areas within residential areas, which seldom if ever cater for the hot climate and sunshine.

In terms of the spatial accessibility of public spaces, our physical survey suggests that, although most of these spaces were located within reasonable walking distances of one another, this is not enough to attract people to them, given that the majority of respondents visit streets where cars move up and down at speed. The separation of buildings and public spaces by streets, and the emphasis on motor car movement in a way that allows cars to be driven directly to every single house means that these spaces are no longer regarded as areas where people can walk and children can play in a relatively safe environment. Moreover, as has been highlighted by many researchers (e.g. Whyte 2000), poor accessibility is one of the major deterrents affecting visitation patterns and physical activities in public spaces. We found that access to public space depends on other factors and not only on proximity to participants' homes. In previous empirical studies by Alfonzo (2005), Pasaogullari and Dortali (2004), Nemeth and Schmidt (2007), Loukaitou-Sideris and Sideris (2010), these factors have been identified as:

1. A lack of continuous footpaths connecting the available open spaces visited by respondents.
2. Undesirable visual images and deficiencies in the design qualities of these spaces. These limit users' vigorous physical activity and made taking part in them uncomfortable.
3. The prevailing social milieu which organizes access to public space through forms of exclusion.
4. A perceived lack of security and safety measures. These in turn have made the outdoor areas uncomfortable and have discouraged the majority of residents from visiting them.

Our survey results also show that differences in the consumption of public spaces across the residential areas may be attributed not only to the number of these spaces and their total acreage, but also to the fact that most of them were suffering from poor quality public amenities (e.g. shade-giving trees, ponds, grassed areas, children's swings, pathways, and lighting). Moreover, our visual scanning of selected public spaces in different case study areas shows inappropriate application of construction elements and materials. As pointed out by the respondents, the wrong application of footpaths which do not fit the norm or which show a poor choice of materials, causes big problems for users, especially children and elderly people. Furthermore, a lack of pavements and other pedestrian-friendly amenities (as in al-Sharafeyah) made outdoor areas less accessible

and more dangerous for users. This situation is exacerbated by a lack of maintenance and effective management for most of public spaces; this has caused them to deteriorate, and this in turn keeps people out, prevents them taking part in physical activities, and results in a sense of emptiness in public life.

The findings of our questionnaire also suggest that there is a strong relationship between the microclimatic conditions and the use of open spaces in the case study districts. The presence of passers-by and residents in outdoor areas is stable in the morning period, with relatively low numbers, and decreases after midday, when the air is normally at its hottest. In the afternoon, people start to gather at 4:00 pm and continue outdoors till 11:00 pm. This is done to avoid the extreme heat and sunshine, which is too great for most people to bear. It is interesting, however, that, across the three case study districts, the shaded outdoor areas such as streets and the inner spaces between buildings attract greater numbers of people than the public parks, which are exposed to direct sunlight. We found that there are also seasonal variations regarding the frequency with which our respondents pay visits to public spaces and the length of time they stay in them. Winter offers greater variations than does summer, enjoying moderate temperature and humidity levels, and being comfortable enough for people to visit outdoor areas more frequently than at other times of year, allowing visitors to stay outdoors for longer periods at a stretch.

Our findings suggest that there were statistically significant differences in patterns of visiting public spaces, with a group of independent spatial aspects such as building density, building type and the availability of private yards. However the crucial variable is that of residential density. The other variables are in many ways just reinforcing factors insofar as they are mutually dependent. For example, one would not have a private courtyard if one did not live in a villa. To compare and contrast the state of different case study districts, our questionnaire findings suggest that public spaces within medium residential areas (100-200 persons/hectare) such as al-Salamah were more likely than those in high- and low-residential density areas to possess a number of features that are likely to support people's physical activities, especially those for youth and children. Our questionnaire results show that the extremely high temperatures combine with residential density and the effects of public space design and management to influence the variations

in physical activities. However, these spatial features are not the only factors that determine or explain differences in the consumption of local spaces. Principally, the analysis suggests that some socio-demographics are associated with the pattern of people's recourse to recreational and outdoor areas, and that this holds true for the whole sample. Our chi-square tests of the survey responses revealed that there were statistically significant differences in patterns of public space use between participants of differing personal characteristics: gender, age, and educational background.

By examining the gender difference, for example, we found that about 90% of girls and women indicated that they do not use public spaces within their neighbourhoods. This high proportion can be attributed to the prevailing structure of sex segregation and the demand for privacy in Jeddah as well as in other Saudi cities. Until recently, due to the status of women and related socio-cultural circumstances, a restricted boundary could be found in Jeddah between the twin realms of the public and the private domains, creating two completely separate and gendered arenas.

Nowadays, due to the demands made by the forces of modernization and the feminist movement, alongside the emergence of liberal thinking about women, a new lifestyle has emerged. With that lifestyle have appeared paradigms of social life that have softened the boundaries between these two realms and have somewhat reduce restrictions in respect to women's presence in public spaces. In contrast to the traditional way of life, when women protected their status by not appearing on the streets without a veil, today it is possible to find Saudi women going out to work, in order to contribute to the income of their family. This, in turn, has caused them to negotiate with the public domain because of the nature of their life. Our in-depth interviews and questionnaire findings also confirm that, despite the widely held notion concerning the restrictions that are placed on women's presence in the public domain, the new life style helped women conquer increasing numbers of public places beyond the boundary of their neighbourhoods. Today they frequently visit restaurants, cafés and shopping centres – places previously considered the domain of men's social life.

Apart from providing access to some public places in urban recreational areas, the spatial organization of modern neighbourhoods and their outdoor areas does not support

women's activities in the public realm. This is due to fragmentation of the urban environment, the wide street patterns, and the lack of appropriate places for women to gather where they not exposed to the public gaze, as was the case in the traditional residential quarters. This reduced women's presence in outdoor areas within their residential areas (Alizad 2007). By considering age differences, our survey revealed that the proportion of the younger group (about 30.5%) who indicated they visit outdoor areas within their immediate locality is greater than the proportion within the adult group (25.7%) who said the same. It can be inferred from this that teenagers are more attached to their neighbourhoods than people from older age groups. Moreover, the proportion of the young respondents who attend elementary and intermediate schools and who play in outdoor areas within their localities is greater than for those who attend secondary school.

As confirmed in the course of the in-depth interviews, young children are more restricted with respect to the recreational places they may visit outside their immediate neighbourhoods and without their families than are the male youths with high school diplomas. The analysis also shows that the number of respondents who hold Bachelor degrees and relax in public spaces within their neighbourhoods (such as streets or parks near their homes) is slightly larger than the proportion of respondents who hold postgraduate degrees. As confirmed in the in-depth interviews, this may be because most of those who hold postgraduate diplomas are older and do not have free time in which to make frequent visits to recreational spots in general. Lack of free time sits alongside a lack of attractive public spaces and social programmes, all of which deter such young men from paying visits to outdoor areas within their localities.

The findings also confirm a strong association (38.7%, N=31) between the tendency of respondents with middle-class monthly incomes (6,001-8,000SR) to make regular visits to public spaces within their neighbourhoods – a proportion that is greater than for other income groups. As stated by some respondents in their answers to the open-ended question regarding outdoor leisure activities, individuals with low-class incomes do not have public spaces and attractive recreational areas within the high-density residential areas in which they live. By way of contrast, respondents enjoying high-class incomes are attracted by high quality shopping centres and theme parks outside their neighbourhoods.

It is logical that those who have the money should entertain themselves in such high quality recreational spots.

Let us examine the question of what hinders participants from spending time in outdoor spaces within their neighbourhoods and engaging in physical activities while there. Our findings show that, while the adult respondents confess to a lack of interest in activities and facilities offered by local spaces, younger respondents deplored the lack of adult supervision, and cited fear of crime and anti-social behaviour as the main factors hindering them from spending time in outdoor places within their residential areas. Although the responses of adults and younger group participants varied, there were some similarities between them, insofar as the majority considered the major factors limiting their participation to be a lack of safety and security measures, very high temperatures, and the threat posed by passing traffic moving at speed. Thus, most of the respondents reported that community privacy and safety measures are among the basic needs that any neighbourhood should provide for its residents. As will be explained in greater detail in the next chapter, the large proportion of respondents who were dissatisfied with the spatial and social organisation of public spaces attributed that dissatisfaction to the threat posed the heterogeneity of inhabitants and passers-by.

As far as the quality of urban design and management are concerned, we have observed variations. While the adult residents in the al-Sharafeyah indicated their unhappiness with the lack of playgrounds and pedestrian paths, those in al-Salamah deplored the inappropriate methods of garbage collection and the lack of pedestrian networks. The residents of al-Shate'e district complained about the lack of maintenance, family routes, and paths dedicated to walking. However, most of the respondents indicate that these spaces are very important factors in aiding child development. The vast majority of people agree that the utilization and vitality of public spaces can be affected by such factors as safety, planning and design processes, maintenance, cleanliness and the availability of a variety of activities and facilities. This was confirmed both by our in-depth interviews and the questionnaire. However, since public spaces in the surveyed areas are lacking in such characteristics, these spaces have low level of accessibility and people simply do not use them.

9.6 Conclusion

Our analysis leads us to a number of conclusions from which we may identify possible solutions and develop policy implications for the practice of public space provision. These findings should be considered by those involved in urban design and management, particularly civil servants who work in the relevant divisions of the Jeddah municipality. These conclusions also indicate that planners and designers have been unsuccessful when it comes to the ability of local and central authorities to create outdoor areas in modern residential environments. In this context, different actors must take responsibility. It is a matter of urgency for the regulators and providers of these amenities to work together. As hypothesised in the literature, what is urgently needed is a practical multi-dimensional framework that recognizes the needs and desires of users of outdoor areas, the spatial, social and political aspects of public space and neighbourhood design (Punter 2002; Lang 2005; Madanipour 2010). More to the point, a deliberately juxtaposed concept of appropriate spatial arrangements for public spaces and the social actions that produced them should be considered (Tonkiss 2005; Turel, Malkoc et al. 2007).

Moreover, in light of this conclusion, we also suggest that, in order to bring about improvements in the current situation of public spaces, where they are set within lifeless modern residential areas given over to a visibly sedentary lifestyle, schemes developed by urban planners and designers should be built on methods that allow adults and children to move about safely, comfortably exploring their neighbourhood on foot (Johnston 2008: 143; Loukaitou-Sideris and Sideris 2010). Safe footpaths for recreational areas should be designed in a way that invites pedestrians by providing them with suitable amenities. Moreover, particular attention should be paid to widening pavements and introducing traffic calming measures in order to slow traffic down. Similarly, in order to enhance the experiential qualities of public space and to increase opportunities for potential social interaction in future residential developments. This has been adumbrated in the literature (e.g. Whyte 1958; Relph 1976; Abu-Ghazze 1997; Eben-Saleh 1999; Williams 2005; Alizad 2007). It is vital that urban designers create an urban setting that will allow rich human interaction and establish a locally defined image. This can be achieved by emphasizing traditional urban design principles such as

building houses close together and the reciprocal relationships that can occur within the building cluster, where outdoor areas are established between houses for use as gathering places for women and play areas for young children.

Furthermore, since there is a general consensus that perceptions of personal safety and actual security measures are prerequisites for vital outdoor areas (e.g. Jacobs 1961; Newman 1972; Oc and Tiesdell 1997), a public presence should be maintained by providing reassurance that there is an adequate number of eyes on the street to deter anti-social behaviour and generate a sense of safety. As pointed out by Carmona et. al. (2003) strangers and passers-by who are unchallenged by the local community should be discouraged, while anyone displaying anti-social attitudes should be denied entry by the law-enforcement agencies with the help of local communities. Similarly, public places should be enhanced to better suit local communities, in a way that will allow them to benefit from the existing social system and become part of it. Moreover, the way these spaces are constructed and managed should help endow them with a sense of identity, instead of reinforcing solitude and anonymity (Thomas 2005; Johnston 2008).

Chapter Ten
Participants' attitudes towards
Public space provision

Chapter 10

Participants' attitudes towards public spaces within modern residential areas in Jeddah (Case studies)

10.1 Introduction

In chapter three (section 3.4) we indicated that the quality of a place and its spatial attributes cannot be captured only by their objective reality, such as their form and the activities that take place within their, but also and more importantly through what Edward Relph (1976: 106) called the 'intentional interpretation' of those who perceived and experienced that place. My intention in this chapter is to present and analyse the collected data, concentrating on how respondents perceived the objective and subjective attributes of their neighbourhoods and to examine their attitudes to the current state of public space provision. The chapter is organised into six sections. Section one discusses the participants' attitudes to the socio-cultural aspects of their residential areas. The second highlights residents' assessments of the spatial characteristics of the case studies. The third section illustrates respondents' views of the state of public space within their neighbourhood, and their overall satisfaction with different aspects of these spaces, as well as those things that determine their overall satisfaction. The fourth section provides a brief review of respondents' suggestions for improving public spaces within their residential environment. Finally, section five discusses the findings, while section six forms the conclusion.

10.2 Modern residential areas and human well-being

Some writers (e.g. Bonaiuto, Fornara et al. 2003) point out that community well-being or quality of life or environmental quality are difficult to measure; different communities

value their residential environments for different reasons. Moreover, even one relatively homogeneous community may value its physical environment for different reasons at different times. When people engage with one another frequently they will obviously have different motivations compared with those who are not involved with their neighbours and have no interest in doing so. Others, such as Szalai (1980 cited in van-Kamp 2005), point out that community well-being can be determined by measuring on the one hand the objective or exogenous factors and facts of a person's life and, on the other, by understanding the way that person perceives the subjective or endogenous factors of his socio-cultural context.

This study builds on an argument that is well supported in the literature (e.g. Lynch 1981, Alexander 1977, Smith 1997, Van-Kamp et.al. 2003, Carmona et al. 2003, Madanipour 2010). It stresses the importance of assessing the quality of public spaces in order to examine both their physical attributes and the properties of their surroundings. More specifically, these studies show urban planners, designers and managers how to create optimal public space design that will attract people to them. We need to understand how their users perceive these properties or to what extent these spaces and their physical surroundings satisfy public well-being. Based on the literature, we have hypothesized that a combination of both objective and subjective variables will account for the active use of public spaces. Thus, in order to identify whether the residents of different residential areas in Jeddah are evenly or disproportionately affected by the subjective and objective qualities of outdoor areas within their neighbourhoods, we have incorporated a multidisciplinary conceptual framework of community well-being into our study. This framework has been designed to measure people's satisfaction with the spatial, institutional and socio-cultural aspects of their neighbourhoods. Overall, the survey data demonstrate clearly the values that different people hold regarding their residential areas and public spaces.

To compare the responses, we ran cross tabulations alongside Chi-square, ANOVA, and MANOVA tests. Our analysis reveals that there are significance differences at the 0.05 level in the responses across the different case studies, and through other socio-demographic characteristics such as age, race and gender. Additionally, in interpreting these values, the in-depth interview findings provided indications of differently valued

choices made by the respondents. In the following sections, residents' attitudes towards the socio-cultural attributes of their residential environment as experienced by the respondents will be addressed.

10.3 The attitude towards the socio-cultural aspects

Louis Wirth (1938), in his essay "Urbanism as a way of Life", views the modern city as a large, dense and permanent settlement in which diverse types of people live and where they create a social structure characterised by its secondary contacts, making it depersonalized, atomised, segmented, superficial and transitory in nature. Consequently, in contrast to the integrated way of life found in traditional communities, city residents become anonymous and isolated. This can be attributed to what George Simmel (1903 cited in Lin and Mele 2005) refers to as the claim of each individual to preserve autonomy of his existence.

Similarly, in his analysis of the similarities and differences in lifestyles between contemporary settlement types, Herbert Gans (1968) argues that the lack of physical distances between residents of crowded inner cities have increased social contact. The different belief systems of various racial and ethnic groups, who are in conflict over scarce resources, are manifested in the outlook and behaviour of individuals. These in turn have broken down existing socio-cultural aspects and stimulate assimilation alongside acculturation. Moreover, Gans indicates that Wirth's conception of the modern city can be applied only to the residents of inner-city areas, whereas the inhabitants of remaining suburban developments pursue a different way of life which can be called a quasi-primary lifestyle. In such suburban areas we can find the segregation of individuals into distinct residential areas. Such individuals are homogeneous in terms of occupation, income levels, racial and ethnic characteristics, social status, costume, habits, taste, and preferences. Whether people moved to suburban areas intentionally or unintentionally in order to enjoy greater privacy or to experience what Kotkin (2005: 153) in his discussion of urbanisation process in Western cities calls 'a more pluralistic way of life', such mobility creates changes in ways of life, to the extent that it becomes transitory and impersonal, while undermining city life and social stability. In this respect, today's urban

inhabitants throughout the world struggle with the same issues of modern urbanism, community, and identity.

Based on this emphasis, the findings of recent Western and international studies (Churchman 2003; Sasidharan, Willits et al. 2005; Talen 2006; Kim 2007) examining the nature of the socially diverse residential areas have also emphasized the linkages between the changing demographic characteristics that include an increasing degree of ethnic diversity and the patterns of people's participation in outdoor activities as well as in their physical activity in these places. More to the point, the negative perception of values that people hold for the socially diverse nature of their residential environment contributes to their limited engagement in outdoor areas. This, in turn, would not foster social relationships, which would contribute to an overall enhancement of community wellbeing and identity (Tinsley and Tinsley 2002).

Similarly, in Saudi cities, previous studies (e.g. Akbar 1981; Al-Hathloul 1981; Al-Nowaiser 1982; Abu-Ghazzeh 1997; Al-Naim 1998; Adas 2001; Eben-Saleh 2002; Mortada 2003; Neyazi 2007) suggest that, in the traditional residential quarters, the bond of kinship between inhabitants alongside the close proximity of buildings provides opportunities for neighbours to share similar interests and to exert control over areas outside their homes. However, the urbanization process and modern planning and design regulations in residential areas have produced socially mixed communities with fragmented structures and free-standing buildings that invade privacy, disturb communal responsibility, and deny possibilities for an individual sense of community and degrade the quality of residents life. Strong evidence supports these arguments. For convenience sake the survey findings will be presented first and then discussed.

10.3.1 Socially mixed neighbourhoods and the nature of social contact

In order to measure respondents' attitudes towards the socially diverse nature of their residential areas, we asked them about their perception of this diversity and prompted them to indicate how friendly their neighbourhoods were and how interested they themselves are in local events, or in walking in the vicinity. **Table 10-1** shows most adult respondents (83.3%, N=144, over 30 years old) dislike the socially mixed nature of

contemporary neighbourhoods and only 19% like it. When participants were asked about the friendliness of their neighbourhoods, the responses varied according to different case studies. Our chi-square tests of these responses indicate that these differences were statistically significant at the 0.5 level. As shown in the table most of the adult respondents (70.1%, N=144) are dissatisfied with the intensity of social contact in their neighbourhoods. While more than 77% of inhabitants in al-Shate'e and 80% in al-Sharafeyah think their neighbourhoods are unfriendly, the percentage is lower for al-Salamah district. Likewise, the open-ended responses also reveal that most of the residents of these districts suffer from a lack of homogeneity, safety, security and privacy. For that reason, they reported that sense of identity; community, safety and privacy are among the basic needs that any neighbourhood should provide for its residents.

Table 10-1: respondents' attitudes towards the socially diverse nature of their residential areas.

		%			
		Al-Sharafeyah	al-Salamah	al-Shate'e	Total
What do you think of the Socially mixed nature?	Like it	10	24	15.9	16.7
	Dislike it	90	76	84.1	83.3
	Chi-Square value = 3.554, df = 2, and significance .169				
How friendly is your Neighbourhood?	Not enough	80	54	77.3	70.1
	About right	18	38	20.5	25.7
	Too much	2	8	2.3	4.2
		Chi-Square value = 10.144, df = 4, and significance .034.			

Source: Fieldwork, Jeddah, January 2007.

One male respondent in al-Sharafeyah district who grew up in the old town, indicated that

'In the traditional quarters social cohesion and communication are very strong. Nowadays, maintaining friendly relationships ensures homogeneity, but social cohesion is very difficult. Unfortunately, the desire for such qualities has faded among today's people. The more homogeneous the inhabitants of a residential neighbourhood, the more likely there would be a strong social cohesion (translated from Arabic, interview 2007).

When asked, participants explained their dislike in terms of several factors. Moreover, **Figure 10-1** shows that 30.6% expressed unhappiness with the threat of anti-social behaviour; 22.9% deplored the fragmentation of society, leading to lack of a sense of attachment and identity; 17.4% indicated they felt threatened by the heterogeneity of residents and lack of safety, with a rising crime rate, and 15.3% thought the heterogeneity of inhabitants damaged social solidarity. It also caused, they said, a lack of identity as many residents discouraged others from feeling part of their social and residential environment. The remaining 13.9% thought the heterogeneity of inhabitants caused a lack of privacy. In this respect, some of respondents indicated that the construction of free standing buildings in effect created a 'goldfish bowl' for their neighbours in low-rise houses.

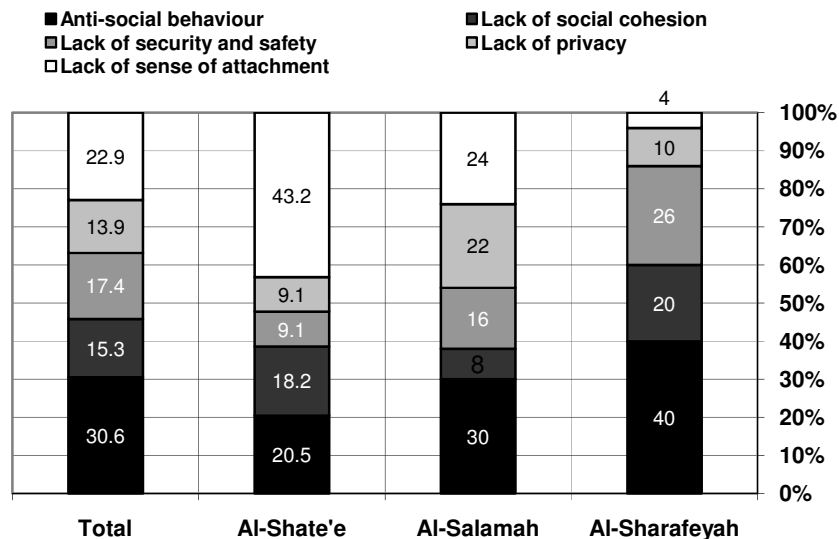


Figure 10-1: Socially mixed neighbourhoods and their consequences.
Source: Fieldwork, Jeddah, January 2007.

10.3.2 Community participation in modern residential areas

Table 10-2 which encompasses the variables of people's participation in community affairs reveals that the majority of adult respondents (70%, N=144) indicated that they do not participate whether they are interested in doing so or not. The dependent variable in this table is the intensity of residents' involvement in the events and affairs of their neighbourhood. Although this table seems to support the argument that the heterogeneity of modern residential areas do not promote community participation, the data actually

suggest the opposite situation in the al-Salamah case study, where greater participation and interest in community affairs was found (52%, N=50).

While this is a surprising outcome, since it is opposed to the predicted results, a plausible explanation can easily be proposed. The high intensity of community participation and personal contact in the al-Salamah district can be attributed to several factors.

Table 10-2: How interested are you in the events and affairs of your neighborhood

Preference	Case study (%)			
	al- Sharafeyah	al-Salamah	al-Shate'e	Total
Interested and participate	18	48	13.6	27.1
Interested but don't participate	50	28	59.1	45.1
Not Interested but participate	4	4	2.3	3.5
Not interested and do not participate	28	20	25	24.3

Chi-Square value = 18,884 df = 6, and significance .004. Source: Fieldwork, Jeddah, January 2007.

As indicated previously in Chapter 8 (Section 8.2.2: Public spaces in al-Salamah district), one of these is that the local community formed an association among themselves with the help of the educated residents of the district and the religious leaders in the local mosques. This positive step towards cooperation has encouraged both the municipality and private developers to maintain and upgrade the deteriorated streets and open spaces. In general, most of the families (or at least their parents) used to live in the traditional quarters where people preferred to be neighbourly on the basis of propinquity rather than choosing associates purely on the basis of their social class.

Despite contemporary heterogeneity in al-Salamah district, the formation of the community association was one of the influential factors that maximised the extent of social participation among neighbours. This finding confirms the idea of Herbert Gans (1967) in his discussion of the transformation of Western cities that propinquity is an influential factor in fostering social interaction, rather than a determinant of it. In contrast, the residents of other case studies (Al-Sharafeyah and al-Shate'e) have forcefully and perhaps purposefully indicated more negative responses in order to register their unhappiness with both the socially mixed nature of their living conditions alongside the

physical aspects they encounter, such as the degraded quality of public spaces. This was done in the hope that this research would come to the attention of decision makers such as the municipality officers who would assist in improving these conditions. The local communities in these districts do not operate under the same circumstances as those prevailing in al-Salamah. By not being able to find a sense of meaning for community in these neighbourhoods, residents have been unable to join their neighbours in the creation of collective activities, such as the maintenance of public open spaces within their communities, nor have they been able to protect these spaces from appropriation by private companies and public agencies. It is obvious that people in al-Sharafeyah were suffering from extreme levels of heterogeneity and a lack of physical distances. Many non-Saudi male workers had concentrated there because of the high density of residential buildings (high rise buildings) and the endless ribbon commercial developments along the main streets. These spatial features attracted young people and others from adjoining areas who are commonly perceived by resident as potential offenders, to commandeer the privacy of the neighbourhood, creating public nuisance and traffic congestion (Clayden, Mckoy et al. 2006). The heterogeneity of inhabitants and the spatial characteristics of the neighbourhood made it difficult for the residents to unify, develop strong friendships or feel a sense of community.

Broadly speaking, dissatisfaction with conditions periodically forced some residents in this district to try to seek improvements in the maintenance and improvement process, but there was often disagreement over what should be done. This resulted in the formation of at least two different community groups, each claiming that they represented all residents. This in turn made community involvement more difficult. Consequently, conditions in the district continued to worsen, and recently several residents who were leaders of different communities sought help from the municipality. Although some of the residents were able to meet the municipality manager who was directly responsible for overseeing the management of their district, this led to only a few minor improvements in the district. This can be attributed to the high land values which made it difficult to invest in public building projects. Moreover, this district is relatively old compared with the others and most recent governmental projects are concentrated in the new areas, such as al-Salamah.

Similarly, in al-Shate'e, the degraded quality of the district - which used to be and still is the most prestigious residential quarter in Jeddah - was the most influential factor behind residents' complaints and expressions of dissatisfaction. Additionally, the low population density and the fragmented layout of the district did not help the creation of a local association that would encourage the residents to be more involved in community affairs or to know each other. Neighbours, of course, do not only find one another helpful and these weak social interactions and what Laurier (2002: 363) (1977) in his analysis of modern Western cities refers to as the culture of 'moral minimalism' breed a general indifference and coldness, and as Sennett pointed out can precipitate a decline in public life. It should be noted that, although the population density in this district is low, its proximity to the Corniche area (the most frequented recreational area in Jeddah) made residents feel that in their community it was difficult to distinguish a neighbour from a passerby. This in turn created what Richards (1990) in his analysis of low density suburban areas in western cities called 'nuisances'.

10.3.3 Participants' attachment to the residential environment

The analysis of residents' attitudes towards the socio-cultural attributes of their residential areas and the extent of their attachment to their residential setting were further examined through the question that invited respondents to indicate their preference for walking in their immediate neighbourhoods. Walking as an ordinary means of engaging with everyday life plays a significant role in understanding urban space, interpreting social reality and supporting the sensorial urban design process that creates localities that respond sensitively to spatial and temporal dimensions of urban space (Wunderlich 2008). Moreover, such walking and social behaviour – as indicated by some urban specialists (e.g. Relph 1976; Tuan 1977; Al-Nowaiser 1982; Gehl 1987; Knox 2005; Thomas 2005; Wunderlich 2008) – can be regarded as indices of the intensity of their attachment to the environment, their sense of place and their social interaction. This question was posed to both young and adult participants. These were all asked whether they enjoyed taking walks in their neighbourhood (See question 29, Appendix I and Question 19 Appendix II). A comparison between responses reveals some interesting findings.

10.3.3.1 Adult Respondents attachment to their neighbourhoods

Table 10-3 shows that most adult people do not like walking in their district (66.7%, N=144). The data in this table, therefore, support the proposition of Louis Wirth (1938) that modern residential areas do not allow individuals to feel attached to their immediate environment. Again, and in contrast, the data suggest the opposite in the al-Salamah case study, where greater interest in walking activities was found (38% N=50). This percentage is relatively high if we take into consideration the fact that most of the respondents within this group are male.

Table 10-3: Adult group, percentages of interest in walking adjusted to independent variables that affect the responses

Independent variables		%		
		Yes	Sometimes	No
Overall	N=144	22.9	10.4	10.4
Case study	al-Sharafeyah	18	10	10
	al-Salamah	38	12	12
	al-Shate'e	11.4	9.1	9.1
	Chi-Square value = 11.648, df = 6, and Significance			
Gender	Male	33.3	11.9	54.8
	Female	8.3	8.3	83.3
	Chi-Square value = 14.260, df = 3, and Significance = .001			
Age	30-44	25	8	67
	45-59	17.6	14.7	67.6
	60+	20	20	60
	Chi-Square value = 2.755, df = 3, and Significance = .006			
Extent of residency	0-4	50	25	25
	5-9	19	7.1	73.8
	10-14	21.6	16.2	62.2
	15-19	14.3	2.9	82.9
	20+	28.6	7.1	64.3
	Chi-Square value = 19.702 , df = 8, and Significance = .012			

Source: Fieldwork, Jeddah, January 2007.

This is owing to religious and social restrictions on women from leaving home without an appropriate male relative. In general, the result of this figure shows a strong correlation with the results of the previous Table 11-2 regarding the intensity of people's participation in their community affairs. A more in-depth examination of the data indicates that the dependent variable for people's interest in walking in the neighbourhood seems to be significantly influenced by case study but also by the socio-economic characteristics of the respondents. As shown in the table, these attributes include gender, age and extent of residency.

I- Readiness to walk correlates with case study

As indicated in **Table (10-3)**, walking activities are affected by the status of the neighbourhood, its residential density and its social atmosphere. In the previous section we have seen that people's participation in al-Salamah district has had a strong impact on obtaining improvement projects such as the construction of a new park. Appreciation of the attractiveness of the improvement project has given residents the opportunity to internalize their role as consumers of outdoor places within their neighbourhood. The strong social contact between inhabitants encouraged them to visit one another frequently and to enjoy walking and other recreational activities within the district. This helps the residents to consolidate a socially meaningful experience and produce what Castle (1977) in his discussion of Western cities refers to collective identity, based on a territorially organized cadre of citizens along various lines of identity such as ethnic or origin. It also helps produce affirmative spatiality, where people become immersed in everyday activities and feel a sense of community and place.

The medium density of the neighbourhood with its vital shopping activities, together with its improved public spaces, all encouraged residents to encounter their environment when they are either walking with a purpose in mind, when heading for a destination, or when they are socializing or just taking exercise. The open-ended questions also reveal that walkers in al-Shate'e mainly walked for exercise. The availability of open space and the landscaping of the district together with its low population density encourage some adults to take up walking as an exercise. People in this district indicated that they walk for exercise, to get out of the car habit, and for psychological relief alongside physical

activity. It should also be noted that, although people enjoy walking in both al-Salamah and al-Shate'e, respondents indicated they were too busy to walk, and that the design of their neighbourhoods does not support opportunities for physical activity, especially walking.

II- Readiness to walk correlates with gender

Significant association at less than the level 0.05 was found between the independent variables of gender and interest in walking. As shown in the previous table, the majority of the female respondents (83.3%, N=60) who represent 65% of the adult sample (N=144), do not enjoy walking in their districts. This can most certainly be attributed to the prevailing religious and social values which restrict their presence in public places. It should be noted that public places were and still are recognised as unsafe areas for women especially at night in Arab societies because of the concept of gender segregation and the requirement for privacy (Abu-Lughod 1980). Additionally, in order to preserve their status, women in Jeddah as well as in other Saudi cities do not like to walk in their own neighbourhood, an area in which people may recognise them. This is especially true among the wealthy families in al-Shate'e district. Indeed, women in wealthy families do not need to go outdoor areas within their neighbourhoods because they have their own yards within their properties where they can enjoy outdoor recreation.

In high class areas, the female presence in outdoor places is mainly restricted to women servants from other countries. If women want to go out for recreation or shopping, they usually go to places outside their districts such as the modern shopping centre (mall) in the city. If they want to exercise, they either go to the northern seaside (Abhor beach) where they usually have resort houses, or to luxurious Gym facilities where they can exercise and enjoy a sense of privacy from men. Likewise, in poor and middle class areas such as as-Sharafeyah and al-Salamah, women mostly eschew the harshness of public places by staying at home, enjoying indoor recreational facilities or going out to the Corniche area where they can freely enjoy walking activities while they are covered with their veil without being recognised by male relatives and neighbours. In line with this, we can argue that the low figures for people in modern residential areas can be attributed to religious and social values which restrict any female presence in public

areas, especially ones most frequented by males. This in turn makes it difficult for them to interact with others in their community or to feel attached to their residential environment.

III- Readiness to walk correlates with the time new residents have been in their neighbourhoods

The length of time residents have been in one place is one of the most important variables that influence residents' interest in walking within their neighbourhoods. The differences in responses were statistically significant at less than the 0.1 level. As indicated in the above Table (10-3), respondents who indicated a length of residence between 0 and 4 years are more interested in walking than those who have been resident longer. This is may be because they are new residents who try to participate in outdoor areas in order to integrate themselves into society and to explore their new neighbourhoods. The in-depth interviews carried out in this study also show that respondents have complained about the loss of social interaction and environmental attachment. In response to the heterogeneity of inhabitants and the layout of districts, people's interaction with others decreased and their engagement in outdoor activities such as walking and playing was reduced.

10.3.3.2 Young respondent's attachment to their neighbourhoods

In accordance with people's interest in walking as an indicator of their attachment to their residential environment, we enlarged the scope of inquiries beyond the adults to consider how schoolchildren and young people produce social domination and representation. **Table 10-4** shows that 55.7%, of the young respondents (N=246) do not like to walk in their residential areas, 33.3%, reported that they like to walk and 11% said they do like walking sometimes. Our finding also indicates that most of the independent variables that affect the interest in walking adults group also affect young respondents. Among the most important variables are age, gender and the population density of the residential area.

I- Readiness to walk correlates with case study variable

The data provided in the previous table reveal that statistically significant differences in the responses at less than the 0.05 level across the case studies regarding the interest in walking. The data also shows that in the al-Salamah case study there is greater interest in walking (51.2%, N=82) among young respondents than in the other two studies. In the previous section we have seen that, in this district, appreciation of the attractiveness of improvement projects has created affirmative public spaces and a positive social atmosphere for greater social interaction; in turn, this has encouraged schoolchildren to take an interest in walking and to feel attached to their residential environment to a greater extent than in the other two case studies. This percentage is relatively high if we take into consideration the fact that most of the participants who register their interest in walking are boys and young men.

Table 10-4: Young group, percentages of interest in waking adjusted to independent variables that affect the responses

		%			
		Yes	No	Sometimes	Total
Overall	N=264	33.3	55.7	11	100
Gender	Male	57.4	30.2	12.4	52.4
	Female	6.8	83.8	9.4	47.6
Chi-Square value = 79.059 , df = 2, and Significance = .0001					
Age	1-14	34.1	56.6	9.3	52.4
	15-29	32.5	54.7	12.8	47.6
Chi-Square value = .780, df =2, and Significance = .077					
Case study	al-Sharafeyah	32.9	54.9	12.2	33.3
	al-Salamah	51.2	42.7	6.1	33.3
	al-Shate'e	15.9	69.5	14.6	33.3
Chi-Square value = 23.593 , df = 4, and Significance = .0001					

Source: Fieldwork, Jeddah, January 2007.

II- Readiness to walk correlates with age

As demonstrates in the tables (10-3 and 10-4) that the greatest interest in walking (34.1%, N=246) was found among children aged less than 14 and the least interest (17.6%, N=144) was among the adults between 45 and 59. The comparison between the adult and young responses reveals that, although most children do not like to walk in their communities, they are more engaged with their residential environment than adults. In line with these findings, we can claim that the older a person becomes the less his interest in walking within his residential environment becomes, but after he reaches the age of 60 a renewed interest starts to grow. According to these figures, 30% of the participants in the quantitative survey (N=390) are interested in walking, 59% do not like walking, and the remaining 21% reported they like it sometimes (**Figure 10-2**).

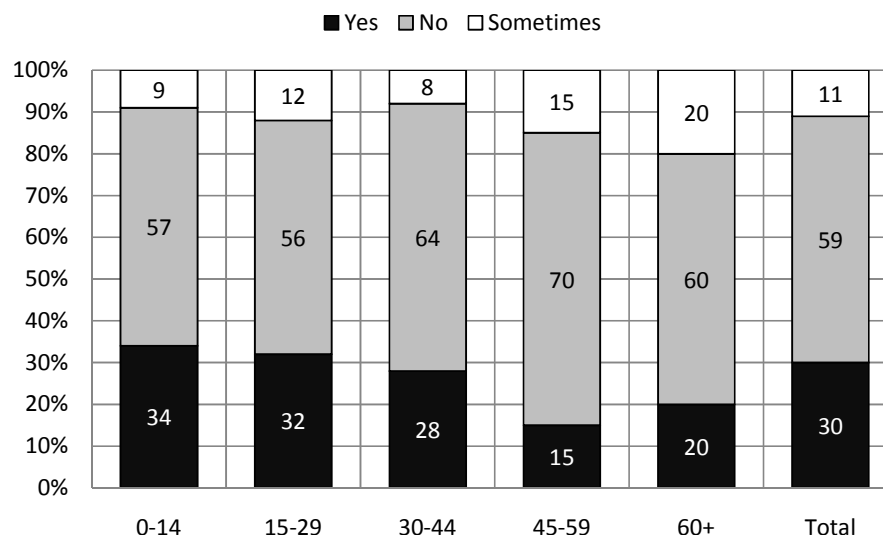


Figure 10-2: The interest in waking of adult and young participants within neighbourhoods. Source: Fieldwork, Jeddah, January 2007.

As was the case in the analysis of the adult participants, the results support that the heterogeneity of the inhabitants in modern residential areas and their fragmented spatial structure have reduced social coherence and minimized the normative social identity. These in turn have opened up opportunities for criminal activities and anti-social behaviour among some teenagers and passers-by, activities that take place within the district without surveillance by residents. This atmosphere has led to a lack of a feeling of in-security as the threat of crime has increased. This has discouraged the children

from being active in outdoor places. Additionally, these outdoor places remain very much under the control of adult men and youths. Although the outdoor places within the modern residential area are dominated by adults, especially in high density areas, and there is a restriction on families with children for going out, the children have been able to create their social and spatial niches in the streets and the spaces in front of their dwellings. Their positions can be seen as directly in response to adult spatiality and vehicle movement

When we asked a child, eight years old, in al-Sharafeyah district why he did not like going out to play in his neighbourhood, he replied:

'I don't want to go out with teenagers in the street where they have their own special areas where they hang out. We need special play areas in which we can play safely, and we're afraid to get mixed up with foreign labourers and black people' (translated from Arabic, interview 2007).

This child provides a concise articulation of the limits of children's spatial practice in an area dominated by racial differences and in an environment controlled by adults such as the foreigner labourers and passers-bys. In each of the case studies under investigation, the levels of satisfaction varied and were vulnerable to different contexts and the socio-economic characteristics of the respondents. Overall, common trends are apparent through the quantitative and qualitative data analysis. The residents in these districts suffered from a lack of homogeneity, privacy, safety, and security.

III- Readiness to walk correlates with gender

Table 10-4 also indicates that a large majority of girls of the young group (83.8%, N=117) do not like walking in their district; only 7% say they enjoy it, while the remaining 9% report that they enjoy doing so some of the time. As indicated in the previous chapter (Section 9.5), this can be attributed to the religious and social values that restrict the public behaviour and spatial manoeuvring of teenage girls and women in places dominated by adult men and youths. It should be noted that, owing to the heterogeneity of the inhabitants and the spatial constraints imposed by male adults and older youth, young girls are not allowed to go out of their home unless their families make sure that there is direct supervision from the family or they are accompanied by an

adult such as their brothers or servants. This is similar to findings in western literature (e.g. Thomas 2005) which showing that girls are encountering a heavy burden that is imposed by adult who restrict their public behaviour. While the findings are similar, the cultural context behind the findings is obviously quite different.

The current socio-cultural aspects of modern neighbourhoods decreased the opportunity for people to obtain more normal social experiences and established the feeling of being unable to move freely and safely within the neighbourhood. Residents in this study were also concerned about those areas within their districts that could act as hide-outs for criminal and anti-social behaviour, as well as those areas which cause traffic accidents or permit the free movement of strangers without any controls. Generally speaking, the findings confirm the results of previous studies by Saudi scholars (i.e Bokhari 1978; Akbar 1981 ; Al-Nowaiser 1982; Alharbi 1989; Al-Shahrani 1992; Khalil 1994; Sijeeni 1995; Sobahi 1995; Abu-Ghazzeh 1997; Eben-Saleh 1997; Al-Naim 1998; Al-Hathloul and Mughal 1999; Adas 2001; Eben-Saleh 2002; Neyazi 2007). These researchers have asserted that the fragmented layout of modern settlements together with the heterogeneity of their inhabitants in Saudi cities not only isolate people, but also violate traditional requirements for privacy, social interaction, children and women's activities, social status and community wellbeing.

10.4 Assessment of the spatial characteristics of the case studies

Apart from the above discussion concerning the socio-cultural qualities of modern residential areas, there is a view that each residential environment has distinctive spatial characteristics which make it difficult to put forward any generalisation for all residents within this context. Based on what Bullock (2008: 15) points out – that people value losses more than they value gains – in the questionnaire surveys of this study the adult and young participants were asked about the spatial features missing from their neighbourhoods that could be regarded as providing additional quality of life; we also solicited values for the enhancement of that quality.

In general, the majority of participants indicated functional and objective aspects such as the lack of public facilities and services. This includes the lack of appropriate garbage

collection, the quality of street paving and lighting, and the absence of appropriate public spaces. Some of the remarks made in response to the same open-ended questions in the in-depth interviews indicated some subjective aspects of their neighbourhood which they found wanting, such as the lack of a sense of community, of security, privacy and responsibility; these are examined in detail in the following sections.

10.4.1 Adult group and the spatial aspects

Table 10-5 shows the result made in the adults' responses to the open-ended questions. Participants were asked to mention three things missing from their neighbourhoods. After categorising the responses and aggregating the frequencies of these missing features, we found that the top three were: first, the lack of playgrounds (15.3%, N=144, and aggregate frequencies = 66); second, the lack of pedestrian networks (15%), including sidewalks and walking trails; and, third, the lack of maintenance for existing public amenities (11.3%), such as landscaping, street lighting, and pavements.

Table 10-5: Number of mentions of features missing from three neighborhoods

	Case study (3 mentions/person)				
	al-Sharafeyah	al-Salamah	al-Shate'e	Aggregated frequencies	% Frequencies
<i>Community facility</i>					
Playground	34	17	15	66	15.3
Pedestrian network	19	27	19	65	15
Park	18	14	15	47	10.9
Place for Women	4	12	17	33	7.6
Sports club	16	9	5	30	7
Community centre	8	10	8	26	6
Football court	8	7	9	24	5.5
Car parking	10	3	0	13	3
<i>Public service</i>					
Maintenance	16	11	22	49	11.3
Garbage collection	12	23	11	46	10.6
Sewer and drainage	5	17	11	33	7.6
Total	150	150	132	432	100

Fieldwork, Jeddah, January 2007.

The table also shows that while the adult residents in the al-Sharafeyah district expressed their unhappiness with the lack of playground and pedestrian paths, the residents of al-Salamah deplored the inappropriate methods of garbage collection and the lack of pedestrian networks. The residents of al-Shate'e district complained about the lack of maintenance, and family routes and paths dedicated to walking.

When asked to mention three features missing from his neighbourhood, one of the residents from al-Sharafeyah replied:

'The first missing feature is the sense of neighbourhood. The spread of the residential buildings across the huge extent of the district makes it difficult to walk to and from places. Therefore, people have to use cars for their convenience. This in turn reduces personal contact. The second missing feature is the lack of communal public spaces within the cluster of buildings, as was the case in the traditional town. For that reason we feel a sense of emptiness in public life. The third missing feature is cooperation between the inhabitants. The heterogeneity of residents makes it difficult for them to interact with each other. It has also become difficult for women to walk outside because of the lack of privacy and security. The outside spaces are greatly exposed when compared to the traditional ones (Interview 2007, translated from Arabic).

These responses provide a clear understanding of negative perceptions of the influence of the spatial attributes of the MRAJ and the differences in their social qualities. In each of the case studies, the levels of satisfaction varied and were vulnerable to different contexts and the socio-economic characteristics of the respondents. Overall, common trends were apparent through the data analysis of the fieldwork. The residents in these districts suffered from a lack of subjective attributes such as homogeneity, privacy, safety, and security, and also suffered from a lack of objective features such as playgrounds and pedestrian networks.

10.4.2 Young group and the spatial aspects

Table 10-6 shows the result made in the responses of the young group to open-ended questions about features missing in their neighbourhoods. After categorising the responses and aggregating the frequency of the features that had been mentioned, we found that the three major missing features are: first, the lack of paths on which to walk

(19%, N=246 and aggregate frequencies = 140) which include the sidewalks and walking trails; second, the lack of playgrounds (15.3%), and third, the lack of shaded and sheltered areas (9.2%). The table also shows that while the children and young residents in al-Sharafeyah and al-Salamah expressed their unhappiness with the lack of playgrounds, the young residents of al-Shate'e district complained about the lack of footpaths.

Table 10-6: Frequency of three mentions of missing aspects from three neighborhood

Aspect	Case study			Aggregated frequencies	% frequencies
	al-Sharafeyah	al-Salamah	al-Shate'e		
Footpaths	25	39	76	140	19.0
Playgrounds	43	50	20	113	15.3
Sheltered areas	14	19	35	68	9.2
Family cafés	1	31	32	64	8.7
Trees and greenery	17	17	15	49	6.6
Kiosks/cafés	7	16	18	41	5.6
Public toilets	18	18	3	39	5.3
Cycling paths	8	5	25	38	5.1
Rubbish bins	18	9	9	36	4.9
Sports clubs	12	18	5	35	4.7
Seating areas	21	10	0	31	4.2
Football courts	20	4	2	26	3.5
Skating board areas	7	6	6	19	2.6
Tennis courts	14	0	0	14	1.9
Fountains	10	2	0	12	1.6
Lighting along paths	7	2	0	9	1.2
Car parking	4	0	0	4	0.05
Total	246	246	246	738	100

Fieldwork, Jeddah, January 2007.

An example of the qualitative responses includes that elicited from a high-school girl in al-Salamah district, who mentioned that she feels that the features missing from her neighbourhood are as follows:

'We need to improve our social life and physical environment, providing clean and safe parks which all family members can use, reducing water wastage and ensuring appropriate amenities in public buildings, especially those used by women and girls. Additionally, it's frustrating to find young boys hanging out in shopping malls and on the streets, where they harass women. I don't blame them. I blame their parents and the responsible government department for neglecting them. While the fathers are always busy working and spend very little time with their sons, the municipality and other responsible governmental agencies seem to be passive about taking good actions to stop their anti-social behaviour and uncivilized way of life' (Interview 2007, translated from Arabic).

What the remarkable candor of this response clarifies is that some schoolchildren and young residents have a complex and negative perception of the social and physical environment and how it influences the quality of modern neighbourhoods.

10. 5 Respondents' assessment of the state of public spaces

The aim of this section is to address one of the major questions of this research, namely, to what extent participants are satisfied with contemporary public spaces within their neighbourhoods. The survey included two separate questions on the perception of these spaces. Both adult and young groups were asked if they view the provision of public spaces near their homes as 'very poor', 'poor', 'fair', 'good' or 'excellent' (Question 21 student questionnaire and question 24 resident's questionnaire, Appendix 1).¹

The adult group were next asked how they are satisfied with different aspects of public space provision within their neighbourhoods (Question 41, resident's questionnaire, Appendix 1). **Figure 10-3** reveals that among the respondents of the young group (55.7%, N=246) assessed these spaces as being poor or very poor. Another 33.3% viewed them as being fair, and the remaining 11% viewed them as good and excellent. The figure also shows that the majority of adult participants (61.1%, N=144) viewed these spaces within their neighbourhood as being poor or very poor. A further 24.3% saw these spaces as being fair, but only 14.6% of the adult groups viewed these spaces as being good and excellent.

¹ This approach, which utilizes different recording schemes for peoples' satisfaction, is more suitable for measuring human perception than the conventional approach, which combined the first and second, and the third and fifth categories into two broader groupings 'poor' and 'good' (Varady and Carrozza 2000).

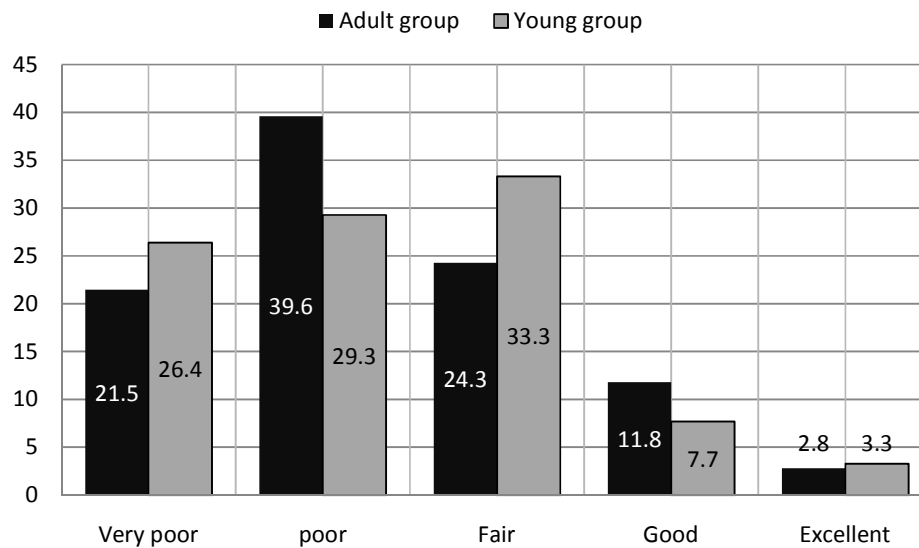


Figure 10-3 : Adult and young groups assessment of the quality of public spaces within their neighbourhoods. Source: Fieldwork, Jeddah, January 2007.

Based on these findings, we can say that, both adult and young groups have a negative perception of quality of public spaces within their neighbourhoods. As will be explained in the following sections, in general the results of both groups not only resembled one another closely, but also indicate that residential density has a statistically significant relationship with participants' satisfaction levels. Moreover, the chi-square tests of the independence of the survey responses revealed some significant differences in perception between participants of different case study and dwelling type, gender, age, race and income.

10.5.1 Participants' perception according to case study and building type

In the previous Chapter 8 we showed that most playground areas and parks within the case studies, particularly in al-Sharafeyah district, had received little attention in term of greenery, furniture and necessary equipment. Thus, **Table 10-7** shows that while the majority (78%, N= 50) of adults (such as the parents of the young respondents in al-Sharafeyah) saw these spaces as being in the most part poor, 38% of the adult respondents in al-Salamah view these spaces as being poor and very poor. These differences were statistically significant at the 0.05 level. Similarly, **Table 10-8** reveals that the majority of the young respondents in al-Sharafeyah (68.3%) saw these spaces as

being in the most part poor, 54.8% of the young respondents in al-Shate'e and 43.9% in al-Salamah view these spaces as being poor and very poor. These results were statistically significant at less than the 0.05 level.

Table 10-7: Adult participants' perception of public spaces within their neighborhoods

		% Very poor poor Fair Good Excellent				
Overall	N=144	21.5	39.6	24.3	11.8	2.8
Case stud	al-Sharafeyah	30	48	10	10	2
	al-Salamah	8	30	40	18	4
	al-Shate'e	27.3	40.9	22.7	6.8	2.3
	Chi-Square = 21.097 with 8 degree of freedom. Significance = ,007					
Gender	Male	20.2	31.0	27.4	17.9	3.6
	Female	23.3	51.7	20.0	3.3	1.7
	Chi-Square = 11.445 with 4 degree of freedom. Significance = ,022					
Nationality	Saudi	20.9	37.3	25.5	13.6	2.7
	Non-Saudi	23.5	47.1	20.6	5.9	2.9
	Chi-Square value = 2.291 with 4 degree of freedom. Significance = , 038					
Income level	1-2000 SR	0	100	0	0	0
	2001-4000 SR	25	25	12.5	25	12.5
	4001-6000 SR	0	40	20	40	0
	6001-8000 SR	23.5	47.1	20.6	5.9	2.9
	8001-10000 SR	19	28.6	42.9	4.8	4.8
	10001-12000 SR	33.3	24.2	30.3	9.1	3
	Over 120001 SR	16.7	52.8	16.7	13.9	0
		Chi-Square value = 32.512 with 24 degree of freedom. Significance = 0.115				

Fieldwork, Jeddah, January 2007.

The findings also show that young respondents in al-Salamah (37.8%) were the ones that most rated their public spaces as being fair and 12.2% of the young respondents in al-Shate'e view the spaces within their neighbourhood as being good and excellent. The findings also reveal that 29.3% of the young respondents in al-Sharafeyah view public spaces as fair. This was considerably greater than the percentage of the adult group in the

same district who saw these spaces as fair (10%, N=50). This means the residents of both the high density areas such as al-Sharafeyah (225 persons per hectare) and those with low density neighbourhoods such as al-Shate'e (18 persons per hectare) seem to have more negative views in their evaluation than residents of medium density neighbourhoods such as al-Salamah (129 persons per hectare).

Table 10-8: Young participants' perception of public spaces within their neighborhoods

		%				
		Very poor	poor	Fair	Good	Excellent
Overall	N=246	26.4	29.3	33.3	7.7	3.3
Case stud	al-Sharafeyah	25.6	42.7	29.3	1.2	1.2
	al-Salamah	25.6	18.3	37.8	1.2	3.7
	al-Shate'e	28	26.8	32.9	7.3	4.9
	Chi-Square = 20.938 with 8 degree of freedom. Significance = ,007					
Building type	Villa	24	27	36	7	6
	Semi-detached	33.3	25	33.3	8.3	0
	Traditional house	16.7	16.7	50	0	16.7
	Apartment	28.1	32	30.5	8.6	.8
	Chi-Square value = 11.832 with 12 degree of freedom. Significance = ,045					
Age	5-14	20.9	29.5	36.4	7	6.2
	15-29	32.5	29.1	29.9	8.5	0
	Chi-Square value = 11.334 with 4 degree of freedom. Significance = ,023					
Gender	Male	27.9	21.7	41.1	7	2.3
	Female	24.8	37.6	24.8	8.5	4.3
	Chi-Square = 11.328 with 4 degree of freedom. Significance = ,023					

Fieldwork, Jeddah, January 2007.

Furthermore, the type of residential unit in which the respondent lives seems to affect their choice of the 'very poor' category. As indicated in table 10-8, people residing in semi-detached and apartment buildings were the ones that most view their public spaces as being very poor. Most of them live in al-Sharafeyah and some parts of al-Salamah, where the building density ranges from medium to high. In contrary to expectation the

respondents who live in villas but view the public spaces within their district as 'very poor' are fewer than those in other building types.

10.5.2 Gender and respondents' perception of public spaces

Our chi-square tests also indicate that young participants' satisfaction levels have statistically significant relationship at the 0.05 level with gender variable. In the above Tables (10-7, 10-8) and in open-ended responses, women and young girls expressed a greater degree of displeasure with their district than did men. These results are in congruence with previous research carried out in Jeddah and other Saudi cities (e.g. Sobahi 1995) in that the high level of women's dissatisfaction can be attributed to the fact that modern residential neighbourhoods do not provide semi-private spaces that have been designed especially for women. Instead, physical restrictions reduce a woman's spatial privacy and confine her inside her home. When asked what you think of outdoor areas within your neighbourhood, a high-school girl in al-Salamah district replied:

'We need to improve our social life and physical environment, providing clean and safe parks which all family members can use and ensuring appropriate amenities in public areas. Additionally, it's frustrating to find young boys hanging out in on the streets, where they harass women. I don't blame them. I blame their parents and the responsible government department for neglecting them. While the fathers are always busy working and spend very little time with their sons, the municipality and other responsible governmental agencies seem to be passive about taking good actions to stop their anti-social behaviour and uncivilized way of life' (Interview 2007, translated from Arabic).

What the remarkable candour of this response clarifies is that some schoolchildren and young residents have a complex and negative perception of the social and physical environment of public spaces within their residential environment. As discussed in the previous section (10.3.3.1: The interest in walking according to gender), women are restricted by their religious values and by the requirements of privacy. They cannot even enjoy privacy in their own homes because of the visual exposure of its yard and windows to adjacent buildings. For that reason the majority (60.6%) are subjected to very high levels of stress as the spatial character of their neighbourhoods has further constrained their already restricted social status and thereby limited their freedom. This, in turn,

forces them either to stay at home or go to indoor recreational centres where they can enjoy leisure activities and find greater privacy.

10.5.3 Nationality and respondents' perception of public spaces

Table 10-7 also demonstrates that while 57.3% of Saudi adult respondents (N=110) and 70.6% non Saudi (N=34) view public spaces within neighbourhoods as poor or very poor, only 16.3% of Saudi and 14.6% of non-Saudi view these spaces as good or excellent. Upon examining the effect of nationality variables on people's conception of public spaces, the results show that non-Saudi residents exhibit greater dissatisfaction with the public space provision than the Saudi. This high level of dissatisfaction can be attributed to many factors. Firstly, the disinclination of members of ethnic groups to visit public spaces within residential areas where they feel that they are in a minority or discriminated against. This discrimination, both perceived and actual, and the level of acculturation experiences by ethnic group members can be contributory factors to the low ethnic minority presence in outdoor areas. Secondly, although dereferences in responses exhibited in the above table were statistically significant at the 0.05 level, the variation in these results may be misleading since the sample consists largely of Saudi nationals.²

Thus, because of its heavy reliance on generalization, the findings of this study cannot be extended to ethnic population subgroups. Nevertheless, as Sasidharan (2005: 36) and Talen, E. (2008) in their discussion of Western cities have pointed out, while it would be impractical to respond to the recreational needs of all ethnic groups, the practice of public space provision should be modified in a way that includes ethnic preferences in order to deliver a range of recreational opportunities to both Saudis and non-Saudis. Furthermore, although the respondents have negative views about public spaces within their neighbourhoods, when they were asked in the in-depth interview survey about the state of public spaces in Jeddah as a whole, this view seemed slightly more positive.

² The sampling procedures of this research are based on quota sampling by stratifying the population of the selected residential area to form a homogenous group with regard to the research variables. Accordingly, respondents were carefully selected from residents according to age and gender. Thus, the figures for non-Saudis are lower than those for the actual non-Saudi users of public spaces within the MRAJ.

This shift in perception can be attributed to several factors. Among these are the well maintained public places, streets and recreation areas in the city's high class and low density areas. As indicted in Chapter 6, the municipality invested a huge amount of money in the landscaping, improvement, and maintenance of the major squares, streets, parks and recreational areas such as the Cornish district. The general opinion of the public seems to have been influenced by these projects, which have been considered to be a means of enhancing the quality of life in the city. When we asked a non Saudi child, eight years old, in al-Sharafeyah district why he did not like going out to play in his neighbourhood, he replied:

'I don't want to go out with teenagers in the street where they have their own special areas where they hang out. We need special play areas in which we can play safely, and we're afraid to get mixed up with foreign labourers and black people' (Interview 2007, translated from Arabic).

This child provides a concise articulation of the limits of children's spatial practice in an area dominated by racial differences and in an environment controlled by adults such as the foreigner labourers and passers-bys. In each of the case studies under investigation, the levels of satisfaction varied and were vulnerable to different contexts and the socio-economic characteristics of the respondents. Overall, common trends are apparent through the quantitative and qualitative data analysis. The residents in these districts suffered from a lack of homogeneity, privacy, safety, and security.

10.5.4 Income level and respondents' perception of public spaces

In a comparison between the responses given by the adult group we found some interesting findings. For those who viewed these spaces in a positive manner, income level seems to be one of the major factors significantly affecting their responses. Table 10-7 also demonstrates that those who view the provision of these spaces as being 'good' came mainly from the lowest income groups (less than 6001 S.R/Month). This means that individuals who earn little will have low expectations and, in turn, will be satisfied with a state of public spaces amenity that would be unacceptable elsewhere. It can be also attributed to fact that residents are not aware of the extent to which their public spaces are in a poor condition. Nevertheless, the findings regarding income-satisfaction

level in general highlight a high level of dissatisfaction of respondents with public space provision within the three case studies.

It should be noted that high-income residents tended to be less satisfied with the state of their neighbourhoods in general and the situation of the public spaces in particular. The prominent reason for this is that most residents with high incomes have been exposed to other public spaces in foreign cities, and so have become more aware of the degraded quality of their own environment, and then evaluate the present state public spaces from more than one perspective. Broadly speaking, despite the fact that respondents (N= 390) were divided in their views regarding the quality of public space provision, the majority of them were dissatisfied with public space amenities. This dissatisfaction is clearly confirmed in the responses to open-ended questions in the qualitative survey. Here, most participants expressed dissatisfaction about the socially diverse nature of their neighbourhoods and the degraded quality of public amenities. One resident of al-Sharafeyah district, for example, when asked if his neighbourhood had any public space, replied:

Our neighbourhood used to have some good outdoor areas especially when the modern buildings were constructed and the [population] density of the area was reasonable. If you had asked the residents about these 20 years ago, they would have said they were satisfied with the cleanliness and appearance of their neighbourhood and its public places. However, the poor condition of the streets and open spaces in the area is due to the fact that they often became dumping grounds for domestic and construction waste. This waste had a direct effect on aesthetic features as well as on environmental cleanliness and public health in these areas. Despite the contribution made by residents to enhance the cleanliness and appearance of their areas, particularly close to their own houses, it seems obvious that a lot of work remains to be done by the authorities (Interview 2007, translated from Arabic).

These responses provide a clear understanding of a negative perception of the influence of the degraded quality of public facilities and the lack of maintenance on the overall people satisfaction of public space provision. In each of the case studies, the levels of satisfaction varied and were vulnerable to different spatial and socio-economic characteristics among the respondents. Overall, common trends were apparent through data analysis performed on the fieldwork. The residents in these districts suffered from a lack of appropriate maintenance for the community facilities and public amenities. In

order to create a satisfactory residential environment and public space, we need to ensure that these areas are provided with appropriate amenities such as roads, footpaths and equipments (Bonaiuto, Bonnes et al. 2004).

10.5.5 Overall satisfaction with public space provision

As indicated above, in acquiring a better understanding of people's assessment of the general quality of public spaces within the three case studies, the adult participants were asked to mark their degree of satisfaction against nine statements. These are contained in Question 41 (Appendix 1). They deal with specific aspects of public space provision. These aspects can be considered as gauges of residential satisfaction of subjective and objective aspects of their neighbourhood (Smith, Nelischer et al. 1997; Bonaiuto, Bonnes et al. 2004). Moreover, these statements form an index measuring the perceived public space problems that each respondent had experienced. The statements were weighted between 1 and 5. 1 and 2 indicate positive satisfaction levels, 4 and 5 refer to dissatisfaction levels, and 3 is the neutral value.³

In order to explore the causal relationship between people's perception of public space amenities and the different components of their satisfaction, several statistical tests were carried out, giving consideration to the quantitative nature of these variables. Cronbach's alpha coefficient, for example, was utilized in order to test the internal consistency of the suggested categorical index – the degree to which the reliability of the statements that make up the index scale all measure the state of public spaces within the case studies – which in this case is 0.9431. This value indicates that there is a high inter-correlation between the items contained in the categorical index, so the scale can be considered reliable for our sample (Varady and Carrozza 2000; Pallant 2005: 90). Additionally, Cross tabulation, Chi-square and MANOVA tests were run on each of the nine

³ The selection of the nine categories has been derived from the literature in environmental psychology that has been extensively used in urban planning and design such as Canter (1983), Vardy and Carrozza 2000, Van-Kamp et al (2003) and Bonaiuto et al (2003) in order to measure perceived environmental qualities. The authors of these studies conceived residential satisfaction as a multi-dimensional concept and highlighted three main evaluative aspects for neighbourhoods: spatial, human, and functional. They also identified their most relevant indicators.

statements to establish the more reliable factorial indicators and eliminate any response to that not representative.

Table 10-9 shows that there is statistically significant difference at less than the specified alpha value of 0.5 in all responses for the nine categories. Moreover, by inspection of the data we can see that the computed significance level of association between the variables at the 0.05 level, which is the lowest level of confidence acceptable to social scientists. Accordingly, our next step was to carry out multivariate analyses of variance (MANOVA) together with cross tabulation in order to examine the determinants of resident satisfaction in the three case studies. This will be elaborated in the following section.

Table 10-9: The extent of association between aspects of public space provision, by case study, adjusting for different categorical indicators (MANOVA tests).

Dependent Variable	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
General conditions	21.841	2	13.104	12.717	.000
Climatic protection (shade)	27.858	2	13.929	13.485	.000
Social gathering places	21.841	2	11.356	10.334	.000
Availability of activities	16.187	2	8.002	6.718	.000
Privacy and security	25.386	2	14.706	11.613	.000
Safety	19.473	2	11.676	9.349	.000
Aesthetic values	17.620	2	4.000	3.244	.028
Noise levels	19.655	2	9.995	7.660	.000
Garbage collection	21.841	2	8.406	7.762	.000

Satisfaction levels were scored as: 1= very satisfied, 2 = satisfied. 3 = indifferent, 4 = dissatisfied, 5 = very dissatisfied. Source: Fieldwork, Jeddah, January 2007.

10.5.6 The determinants of residents' satisfaction with public spaces

To assess the extent to which each of the nine aspects of public space provision contained in the above mentioned categorical index constitute a problem, we made a further compression of the perceived quality of public spaces by recoding the scale of the satisfaction level as new variables. Accordingly, positive satisfaction levels have been given values of zero for either fairly satisfied or very satisfied, and a value of one for

either fairly dissatisfied or totally dissatisfied. Moreover, the neutral values were excluded and considered as missing values. Broadly speaking, the SPSS computation indicates that all categorical indicators were bipolar since they consisted of both positive-sense items indicating resident satisfaction and negative-sense items demonstrating resident dissatisfaction.

As already mentioned, the respondents were not optimistic about the current condition of these spaces. **Table 10-10** reveals that the majority of respondents were unhappy about four major problems regarding public space provision. These were: the absence of safety measures, which reduced the access residents had to them (82%); the lack of environmental protection such as trees and shade (81.4 %); the absence of encouragement for social gatherings, along with reduced opportunities for social interaction (80.7%); and poor spatial qualities of these spaces (80.4%).

Table 10-10: Percentage of respondent dissatisfaction level with different aspects of public space provision adjusting for different case study

Rank of problems	Case studies					Chi-square
	al-Sharafeyah	al-Salamah	al-Shate'e	Total	df	
Safety	92.7	63.9	88.2	82.0	2	.0020
Climatic protection	93.0	56.8	92.1	81.4	2	.0001
Social gathering	92.7	59.0	91.2	80.7	2	.0001
General condition	93.0	55.6	90.9	80.4	2	.0001
Aesthetic values	80.6	59.0	43.5	63.3	2	.0120
Recreational Activities	92.3	63.9	21.4	63.1	2	.0001
Noise level	92.7	43.2	44.1	61.6	2	.0001
Garbage collection	92.9	41.0	34.8	60.6	2	.0001
Privacy and security	90.7	24.3	41.9	55.0	2	.0001

Source: Fieldwork, Jeddah, January 2007.

The data reveals that there is a strong positive correlation between the categorical indicators (statements) as the most coefficient correlations of the paired of these variables are above 0.5. Overall, both the cross-tabular and MANOVA results suggest that residents were dissatisfied with both the subjective and objective attributes of public space provision within neighbourhoods. The preceding results also show that the

proportion of respondents who are dissatisfied with these aspects of public space is roughly four times more than for those who were satisfied. Moreover, there is a strong correlation between the different problems found in these spaces. Thus, the high level of resident dissatisfaction did, in fact, reflect not only the deterioration of public spaces but also the undesirable social atmosphere. One male respondent in al-Salamah, who lives in a high density residential cluster and approximate to endless ribbon commercial developments along the major roads, reported that:

'Although there are plenty of spaces, to the residents of this neighbourhood these neglected spaces were not distributed in a way that making places for the children to play or adult to socialise. Additionally, the contractor of the municipality who in charge of maintaining the parks usually irrigate the plants and grass with sewer water which gives bad smell and discourage people from setting there. In my opinion, these spaces were not allocated for recreational purpose or as a local playable space but for residents and shops keepers to dispose their wastes there for the municipality to collect them later. We as citizen we have that something urgently needs to be done and the municipality is not legally or financially capable of dealing with these cleaning issues ' (Interview 2007, translated from Arabic).

This means that subjective attributes such as the inappropriateness of these spaces for social gatherings are significantly correlated to objective and functional features, such as appearance, walkability, and maintenance. In other words, when the negative perception of the spatial conditions of outdoor areas in a neighbourhood rose, resident's assessments of the social quality of their neighbourhoods also rose (Van-Kamp, Leidelmeijera et al. 2003). Overall, both the interview and questionnaire findings clearly highlight the fact that public spaces within the case studies do not offer greater opportunities for social interaction and cultural activities.

10.5.7 Summary of overall satisfaction level

Figure 10-4 summarises the means (measure of central tendency of scores) of the above-mentioned nine categorical indicators of resident satisfaction. It shows that, although these means of satisfaction vary across the three case studies, there is a general

dissatisfaction with different aspects of public space provision, since most of the computed mean values for different categories lie above neutral.⁴

Closer inspection of the data indicated that the high dissatisfaction level of respondents with the general quality of public space provision can be considered as a function of decreased access to public amenities, a lack of variety in activities, a lack of pedestrian networks, degraded aesthetic qualities, an absence of maintenance or cleanliness, a want of safety and security measures, and reduced opportunities for social interaction. Alongside this, people also suffered from the deterioration of public spaces, the speed of vehicle movement, and other social factors such as the crime rate and anti-social behaviour. Such a situation consequently reduced the presence of people in outdoor areas in general and minimized their feelings of being attached to or satisfied with the condition of their residential environment as indicated in previous studies.

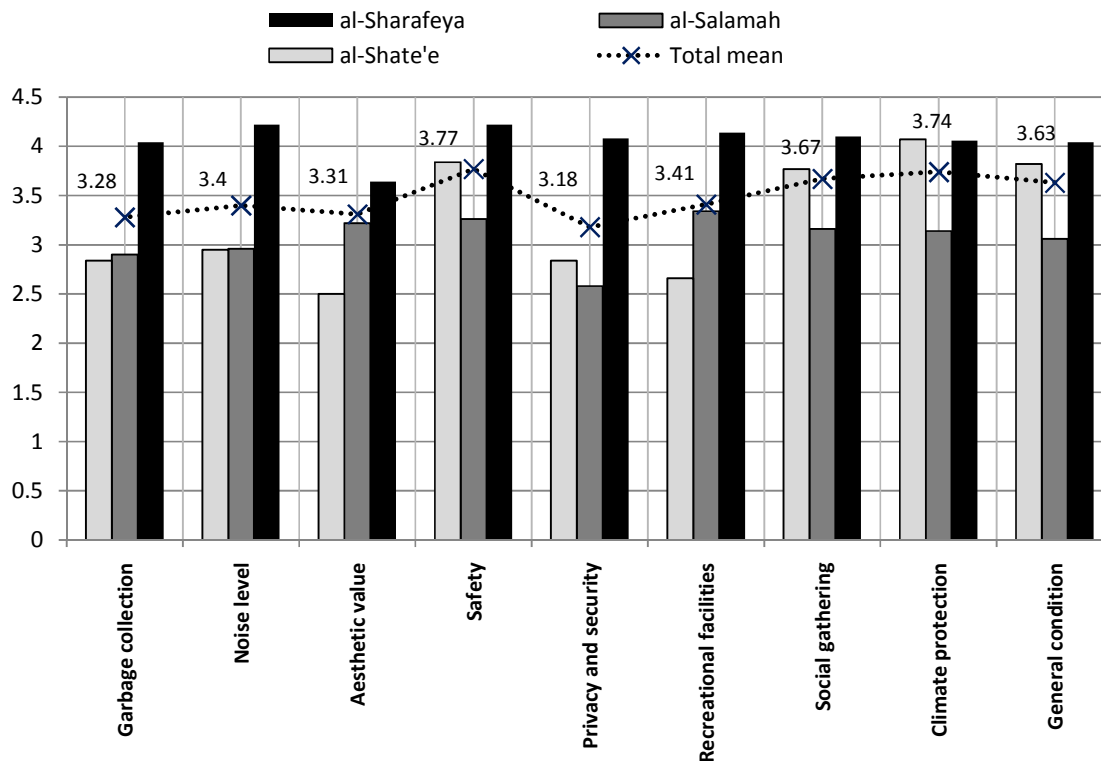


Figure 10-4: Means of satisfaction by case study adjusting for different categorical indicators of the quality of public spaces. Source: Fieldwork, Jeddah 2007.

⁴ The value of '3' is considered a neutral point and satisfaction level is considered positive when it is below this point and negative (dissatisfaction) when it is above the neutral point.

10.6 A discussion of the findings

The aim of this chapter is to gain more insight into how respondents perceive the various attributes of their neighbourhoods, from objective and subjective viewpoints. It also seeks to examine their attitudes towards the current state of public space provision within the case study areas. Several questions were developed in order to gain an overall assessment of the variables related to community wellbeing and the quality of public spaces within this context. The results of our survey reveal that there is a consistent negative influence from the processes of modernization and urbanisation that impacts residents' conceptions of their neighbourhoods. Moreover, the findings indicate that satisfaction levels of public space provision can be attributed to a range of natural-physical, socio-cultural and institutional factors.

Louis Wirth (1930 cited in Lin & Mele 2005) in his analysis of modern Western cities, argues that the agglomeration of great ranges of individual variations in terms of personal traits, origins, background, cultural life and ideas will eventually polarize the community. Our findings confirm Wirth's arguments that the unbalanced relationship between residents of the case studies is a result of the creation of huge districts in terms of size and population. We may judge the quality of public spaces within modern residential areas in Jeddah from the point of view of the responses given to the quantitative and qualitative inquiries posed in our research. The majority of residents indicate that increased distances between buildings which result from the building of wider streets and the creation of widely-dispersed and barely accessible outdoor spaces discourage people from exploring outdoor areas. They point out that they are confronted with a high level of vehicle traffic. Such neighbourhoods are lacking an identifiable hierarchy of defined communal spaces, which are essential for social gatherings.

Moreover, residents feel that human scale dimensions in the design of contemporary neighbourhoods in the city are disharmonious with the local social norms and the physical activities of users. In its turn, this has caused a diminishment of social interaction between residents and reduced the safety and security measures. Similarly, the extremely hot weather outdoors and air conditioning systems in houses have acted as major obstacles to discourage people from spending time outside. They point out that

existing climatic conditions are not taken into consideration in the planning and design of their neighbourhoods. Consequently, many dwellers find themselves locked in their homes without any contact with their neighbours. Therefore, it is a matter of urgency to consider the significance of the ensuing social mix for public amenities management. For example, public spaces, park design, equipment and programmes should address the differences in age and ethnic background rather than seeing park users as a homogeneous group with uniform needs and desires (Loukaitou-Sideris 2010, Talen 2010, Jo William 2005).

In terms of construction materials, respondents indicate that most of these spaces incorporate a large number of primitive landscape features such as trees, benches, grassed areas, and paths, and have been constructed in a way that not only discourages a human presence and physical activities without enhancing the visual quality of the surroundings. Mistaken applications such as incorrect sidewalks and unsuitable landscaping elements which do not fit prescribed standards and a lack of real choice in materials have caused big problems for the users of these spaces. As De-Magalhaes and Carmona (2009) point out, the decline of the state of public spaces in British cities can be linked to the limitations of the managerial approach with its focus on technocratic capability, giving way to a concern of good urban governance which is based on participatory approaches. In Jeddah, existing public space management has been outflanked by an inability to respond fast enough to the growing demand for public space amenities and a reduction in expenditure on their maintenance.

As pointed out in chapter 6, existing spaces are poorly maintained and suffer neglect due to the ascendancy of public space managers, bureaucratic inertia, and the lack of a cohesive strategy for public space provision, since most of these areas were created without any accompanying funding for their long-term management. This can be considered as a key reason why there has been such a decline in these spaces. As a result, such spaces support activities such as littering, vandalism and anti-social behaviour, and have thus caused a material deterioration in the quality of the residential environment. The under-management of public spaces along with failure of local authorities to deal satisfactorily with any of the major issues of the time – those irresponsible public attitudes towards outdoor areas – have created derelict public space landscapes. These, in

their turn, have resulted in minimal public use of these spaces and have forced people to withdraw to their own private realms. Therefore, offering good maintenance with more active recreational facilities and sport programmes while ensuring adult supervision would attract more people to outdoor areas and would make it easy for parents with children to allow them go out without anxiety.

Moreover, as hypothesized in the planning and urban regeneration literature (Newman 1980: 3; Varady and Carrozza 2000; Eben-Saleh 2002; Sasidharan, Willits et al. 2005; Williams 2005; Kim 2007; Jupp 2008; Loukaitou-Sideris and Sideris 2010) and recommended by various global programmes such as UN-Habitat, in order to generate successful involvement of residents in the improvement of their neighbourhoods, it is important for local authorities to ensure that their achievements and new initiatives are measured against broad collective social goals and their decision process included in the overall principles underlying their work. In essence, this requires employing governance mechanisms with an emphasis on participation in order to ensure that the growing civic society demands and priorities are explicitly recognised. Public space management can be realistic and has a proactive effect on the quality of the urban environment if we ensure that the administrative boundaries of local municipalities are large enough for their officials to assume their responsibilities and achieve their goals as prescribed. In line with this, to instil a feeling of community among residents, huge residential areas should be divided into smaller territories of a reasonable size that can be managed by local communities. Additionally, more organised social and recreational activities that attract residents to outdoor areas should be offered.

10.7 Conclusion

From the discussion it is evident that there is a shared sense of dissatisfaction and pessimism about the state of public spaces within modern residential areas. Both questionnaire and in-depth interviews indicate that the effect of the degraded quality of public spaces on respondents' perception of neighbourhoods with of a socially mixed nature was consistent with the findings of previous research. The latter suggest that the effect of social attributes along with the utilitarian approaches of urban planning and management have created a fragmented urban fabric with widening distances between

buildings along with wide streets and tracts of widely-dispersed outdoor space that are less identifiable and accessible. This in turn discourages people from entering outdoor areas or engaging in social interaction; it does not offer greater opportunities for cultural activities. Therefore, it probably becomes more important for the municipality as a provider and regulator of public space amenities to clarify what they have to provide, why this is needed, and with what objectives it is to be provided or managed.

A clear understanding of what services are to be provided would reinforce attempts to deliver more satisfactory public spaces and places that contribute to the enhancement of the public realm. As indicated in much of urban design and planning literature (e.g. Pasaogullari and Doratli 2004; Carmona and De-Magalhaes 2006; Madanipour 2006), if we are to create high quality spaces we need to integrate the ways in which we design, manage and maintain our public realm. In line with these ideas, attention should be paid to the appropriate design and placement of these spaces, since these all play a significant role in social interaction. Additionally, local authorities should support the development of vibrant local communities as a form of public space management. Moreover, local communities should have an active role in tackling public space problems (Williams 2005; De-Magalhaes and Carmona 2006). More to the point, the local authorities should play an explicit role in supporting the idea of community participation in the management of public spaces within the modern residential areas in Jeddah (Kim and Kaplan 2004; Jupp 2008).

Chapter 11

Summary and Conclusion

11.1 Introduction

The preceding analysis leads to a number of conclusions and policy implications. This chapter serves as a conclusion of our examination of public spaces within modern residential areas in Jeddah and how appropriate they are to the city as a whole. To start with, the chapter attempts to provide a brief review of the initial focus of the research, together with the questions, propositions, and methodology that shaped it. Secondly, it attempts to draw together the empirical and theoretical parts of the thesis. Thirdly, it summarises the major findings of the research. Next, it elaborates on the role of the ongoing debate about public space, asking how accessible and how responsive it may prove in an urban design context. We also consider public space as a potentially integrative resource within the broader context of governance, as characterised by dynamic relations between the stakeholders of civic society, the insights gained from this debate about public space may inform urban design principles and management policies in order to mobilise collective action and inspire individual efforts towards the enhancement of public spaces within this context. Finally, it provides some recommendations for future research.

11.2 Overview of the research focus

The main purpose of this thesis is to connect recent interest in the understanding and appreciation of urban public spaces in general to new ways of thinking about the possibility of promoting high quality public space within modern residential areas in Jeddah city. Urban public spaces are attracting increasing policy attention within public

policy debates in cities belonging to both developed and emerging economies, such attention is combined with new ambitions for what public spaces could and should be like. Parallel to this, there is an exploding academic literature on the nature and quality of urban public spaces and their representations. These urban policies and the products of academic research unite themselves around ideas that aim to heal the wounds inflicted upon modern cities – for example, reactionary responses to rapid urbanisation and its socio-cultural consequences; widespread frustration with contemporary urban life, which is perceived as fragmented, atomised, depersonalized, segmented, superficial, transitory and uncomfortable: all notions which, in their turn characterize the soul and personality of our urban environment (Simmel 1903; Wirth 1930; Jacobs 1961; Gans 1967; Sennett 1977). Despite all this, these policies never came to unite successfully with the academic work.

Policy debates have focused on ways of containing urban expansion and on institutional frameworks that encourage good governance for urban space; likewise, they have concentrated on strategies that emphasize reintegration in order to create sustainable urban development. These policies continue to proliferate and focus on imaginative ideas such as integral urbanism and mixed use of space for the enhancement of the public realm, as well as proactive approaches for promoting high quality urban life (Healey, Cameron et al. 1995; Ellin 2006). Along with these urban development policies, in the academic literature (e.g. Relph 1976; Rapoport 1982; Lang 1987; Madanipour 1996; Carmona, Heath et al. 2003) there have always been critical reactions towards the functional and utilitarian approaches of urban planning, design and management by those who question their validity in effectively managing urban public spaces. Critics of rationalism, therefore, offer us new insights and invite us to look at the built environment from different points of view.

The framework for research developed here underlines the significance of the representations of urban space, interpreting it in terms of what the German physicist Gottfried Leibniz conceived in his theory of the monad as a relational space. This was in the sense that such a space exists only insofar as it has a series of relationships with everything else going on around it, whether people or city artefacts (Madanipour 1996; Harvey 2006). As argued by Lefebvre (1991), the spatial attributes of the urban environment are made, not only out of materials and objects but out of meanings, language

and symbols. Thus, only a multi-dimensional approach to public space provision will offer us a balanced view of the subjective and objective structure of urban space. Such an approach emphasizes the dynamic nature of this space and combines the complex spatial, socio-cultural and institutional dimensions of the built environment. This picture, however, will not be complete unless we realize that the way we understand the structures of urban life, the elements of the built environment and space will need to be complemented by appropriate patterns of human behaviour within cities and an understanding of how these endow the built environment with meaning.

Drawing on such a conception of space within the philosophical tradition of Leibniz (who objected to Newton's notion of absolute space and time), a rich and extensive literature (e.g. Lefebvre 1947; 1991; 2004) within various fields has wrestled with the complexity of the term space and proclaimed distinctive ways of understanding the representation of urban spaces that have questioned how concepts of public space have come to be embodied in urban policies and processes, as well as everyday life itself? In line with these efforts, the argument developed in this thesis is drawn from the work of Ali Madanipour (2006), who reflected on the nature of human experience of space. Madanipour highlighted an urgent need for reliable tools to help evaluate different aspects of the practice of public space provision. In this imaginative perspective, urban public spaces are treated as dynamic physical objects with a multi-dimensional nature. Critical aspects in this conception of public space suggest a holistic conceptual framework which encompasses a deep understanding of the interdependent influences of these distinctive tripartite constructs of the man-environment and its various dimensions (spatial, institutional and socio-cultural) and provides us with a creative solution for tackling the challenge of urban design.

Such an integrated urban design approach could give us, on the one hand, a balanced view of the many influences swirling over the structure of urban space and, on the other, a better prediction of its appropriateness to its users and context. Moreover, it helps us to arrive at an intuitive and a rational understanding of how urban spaces should be organised rather than compelling us to propose some unattainable utopia. More to the point, such a framework presumes that for urban designers to play an important role in producing high

quality urban spaces and to enhance the existing ones, they need to understand the different human and social practices that create these spaces and to investigate to what extent these spaces are accessible, by whom they are owned, controlled and managed. This means that, as the quality of public spaces depends on the prevailing discursive strategies and actions of their stakeholders, for these spaces to ultimately exemplify vitality and other desirable qualities, they must be examined simultaneously from the perspective of their providers, regulators, and users.

11.3 Summary of the research methods

As stated previously (section 4.2.3), the aim of this study is to ask to what extent are contemporary public spaces within modern residential areas in Jeddah appropriate to their users and context through an analysis of the process of urban planning, design, development and management, with the aim of ultimately informing urban design and management principles with a view to their future provision. To address this question, the research concerns need to be extended from a theoretical framework into the sphere of practical provision. As stated in chapter four, in our fieldwork we employed mixed methods as part of our research strategy in order to scrutinize the present situation regarding public spaces. This was done from a vantage point from which the production and management of public spaces were regarded as the results of public sector policies, private initiatives, and community participation.

The combination of qualitative and quantitative methodologies is sometimes essential in order to compensate for the limited applicability of both methodologies, so that a relatively clear outcome may be obtained and our questions answered. The quantitative part of our research, which uses face-to-face questionnaires, can be viewed as facilitating an understanding of each user's characteristics, attitudes, concerns, evaluations, degrees of satisfaction and expectations as well as providing a perspective on the types of amenities, resources and elements were preferred for inclusion in public open spaces within the districts inhabited by our respondents. Meanwhile, the qualitative method may be used concurrently in order to obtain more evidence concerning the contemporary situation of

public space provision and to elicit the stakeholders' opinions and perceptions regarding contemporary public spaces within this context by conducting in-depth interviews.

The field work was carried out during the period from 18 June to 10 September 2006 and again from 25 December 2006 to 16 January 2007. We decided to investigate a small number of public spaces located in three districts diverse in terms of residential density. These are al-Shat'e, al-Salamah and al-Sharafeyah. In the quantitative survey in order to satisfy the role of the statistical theory, the total numbers within the sample size were determined according to stratified quota sampling and came to 390 respondents, the minimum required to be representative. Respondents were asked to complete two different questionnaires, one being the comprehensive questionnaire for the adult group (parents) and the other for the schoolchild and university student age group. While the sample size for the youth and schoolchildren group was equal to 246 respondents, the sample size for the older group was equal to 144. For the qualitative survey, 30 in-depth interviews were conducted with knowledgeable sources and influential people: local authority officials, city planners, architects, developers and the like. The organizational structure of local authorities, inter-governmental cooperation, urban legislation, land policy, leadership, development management processes, public-private organizations, community participation and other dimensions have been analyzed in order to assess the degree to which there exists a holistic vision that addresses all aspects of urban spaces.

11.4 The research finding

After investigating the three modern residential areas in Jeddah selected as case studies for this thesis, through the multi-dimensional urban design theoretical framework as used by us, are we now in a position to answer the question that was posed by this research and to identify how the current situation of public spaces within modern residential areas in Jeddah came about and to what extent these spaces may be considered appropriate for their users and context? In broader terms, our findings allow us to argue that public spaces, as significant spatial objects and as social components within cities, are subject to an intense transformation process caused by structural changes in the spatial, socio-cultural, and

institutional realities of the city. These realities not only changed the quality of life in Jeddah but also shaped the character and features of these spaces.

By examining the methods of regulating urban development in the Kingdom, we found that achieving balanced urban growth is considered a challenge for public sector authorities at all levels. Since the structural adjustment of the country (1932), a diverse array of plans and strategies has been developed, aiming to regulate the growth of major urban centres such as Jeddah and to mitigate the adverse impact of the urbanisation process. Very few of these policies and plans can claim success. The deficiencies of the urban planning and development policies can be attributed to four major factors. First comes the fragmentation of development policies. This fragmentation is caused by the absence of regional planning institutions that tie national economic policies to spatial planning practices at the local level. Secondly, spatial planning and development policies were drawn up in haste as directives to be executed by local authorities without the involvement and consent of communities. Thirdly, urban planning and development policies for regulating urban growth have lagged behind the fast pace of physical development. For example, planning institutions were created after the consultants had already prepared the plans. Fourthly, the organizations that oversee the spatial planning of the city are completely independent of the units that are in charge of implementation at local level. Consequently, fragmented efforts and overlapping responsibilities become evident in the development of cities.

From the discussion, it is clear that in Jeddah modernization policies have accelerated the suburbanization process. By the 1940s, due to the dramatic population increase, the historic town of Jeddah – which had previously been contained behind a protective wall – had become crowded. In order to make room for new migrants from rural areas and other cities, considerable changes were achieved, leading to the city's transformation into modern urban units. With the dramatic increase of the wealth of the country in the 1970s and 1980s, in major Saudi cities urban managers and their international consultants were interested in refashioning the entire built environment, from the scale of cities down to the level of street and public space furniture by preparing comprehensive master plans and a series of area action plans.

The advent of the first official master plan for Jeddah in 1973 encouraged decision makers and consultants to subdivide the city into residential areas and identifiable zones, mandating an urban environment designed for cars rather than human beings. Drawing on the ideas of Haussmann and Le Corbusier, consultants sought to mitigate social problems through physical transformation and by the adoption of a grid street layout as a pattern for modern residential areas. This was viewed as an expedient solution to accommodate high rates of urbanization. It was a way of thinking that served as the basis of land use regulations and land subdivision, aiming to create and impose a new order onto the dense historical town, even at the cost of demolishing a large part of it rather than emphasizing its continuity with the past, merely because the modernist rationalists and consultants stressed the need for a break with the past. New traffic arteries emerged to open up the city and link important public places, in the process cutting local communities apart, and new urban developments with innovative typological forms emerged as a means of organizing urban space to replace what Harvey (1983: 303, cited in Talen 2008: 54) called ‘a localised aesthetic image’.

With the aim of transforming Jeddah, the consultants made a set of recommendations for the provision of public spaces and recreational areas at the city and neighbourhood levels. Unimaginative master planning and its zoning and building regulations have not only created highly segregated suburban utopias, but also materially increased the appearance of impersonal and useless public spaces that fail to respond to local needs and contexts. Since the distribution of pedestrian space in streets is heavily weighted towards car movement, deceptive standardised public spaces have come into being that do not support urban public life, while traditional gathering spaces disappear. This, in turn, has changed the nature of public spaces from being places for performance and the assertion of identity while remaining embedded in the social fabric of the city, to becoming parts of a more fragmented urban development that is entirely concerned with the way cities function (Madanipour 2010).

From this discussion, it is evident that public parks at city level or public spaces within residential areas emerged as part of a beautification scheme which was engendered to enhance civic responsibility and targeted to make Jeddah (as stated by Municipality officials on different occasions) a “city with a million trees” (Sobahi 1995). In the absence

of a well developed spatial planning policy for public space provision, tremendous expenditure has been wasted on providing and constructing scattered urban parks and gardens with their engineering-oriented designs and primitive plantation practices. One of the most important issues of the provision practice is that these public spaces were not designed in a way that would meet the needs of the inhabitants for privacy or would provide active recreational sports rather than sitting and enjoying passive recreation. Moreover, they do not pay attention to the role of the desert climate and the lack of water. Consequently, these public places have deteriorated and become useless. Such a limited scope and understanding of urban needs combined with poor management systems made it difficult to create attractive public spaces with which to support the public realm.

This situation led to the emergence of the practice of public space management as a clearly defined public service and put it at the top of the priorities of central and local governments. Accordingly, waves of institutional arrangements and administrative reforms took place, aimed at establishing regulatory agencies with a stake in the delivery of public space amenities instead of becoming an implicit part of general city management. With regard to the administrative reform that took place in Jeddah Municipality in 1977, the findings show that the change in the organizational structure of the Municipality resulted in the creation of a number of departments with a focus on narrowly-defined services related to public space. This compartmentalization and the narrow focus on public space delivery eventually necessitated a more thorough restructuring of public space management in 2006. These administrative arrangements and the sustained effort devoted to promoting public space management have had many positive implications for the promotion of public space provision, which was now concerned with design quality and long-term maintenance. However, not all the implications were necessarily positive: noticeable key issues remain unaddressed, such as an ongoing lack of coordination and the absence of an appropriate legal framework for the involvement of civil society actors in this practice.

Our findings have identified four principal issues in public space management. These are resources, maintenance, regulation, and coordination. Regarding the issues surrounding resources, our findings show that the allocation of the means for public space management was limited, since most departments in charge of this area are not well equipped and still

lack essential personnel, expertise, and financial arrangements; this has undermined their performance. In the same vein, we see that a lack of coordination in the organizational environment leads to conflicts in management efficiency regarding the use of resources, conflicts that may end up hindering effective intervention and management. Additionally, the degraded level of maintenance can be considered an intrinsic consequence of the lack of a cohesive strategy for public space provision, since most of these spaces were created without adequate funding for their long-term management. Moreover, existing spaces are poorly maintained and suffer neglect due to the transfer of their budgets to other projects. This situation has been exacerbated, not only by a lack of coordination between the agencies in charge of public service delivery but also by weaknesses in the enforcement regimes of Jeddah Municipality which have made it difficult for officials to secure compliance with legislation; this in turn has undermined their performance in effectively maintaining and managing public spaces.

With regard to the consumption of public spaces within modern residential areas, the findings confirm that the low numbers of people in outdoor areas may be ascribed to changes in lifestyle, the fragmentation of the urban and social fabric, the extremely hot climate, deficiencies in urban design, and the management qualities of public spaces. The analyses reveal that two thirds of respondents have a sedentary lifestyle and visit indoor recreational areas inside or outside their neighbourhoods only in their leisure time. The use of recreational facilities located outside people's own neighbourhoods is partly because of the degraded and inadequate recreational facilities within their residential areas, and partly because respondents are attracted by the Corniche area and the shopping centres along the major thoroughfares such as al-Tahleyah Road. These latter provide modern recreational facilities such as theme parks, sports clubs, restaurants, and cafés as a means of attracting customers. Most of these entertainment spots are located indoors and are equipped with air-conditioning in marked contrast to outdoor areas within residential areas, which seldom if ever cater for the hot climate and sunshine.

In terms of how respondents perceive the various attributes of their neighbourhoods and the current state of public space provision within the case study areas, the results of our survey reveal that there is a consistently negative influence from the processes of

modernization and urbanisation, and that this influence has a direct effect on residents' conceptions of their neighbourhoods. Moreover, the findings indicate that the satisfaction levels of public space provision can be attributed to a range of natural-physical, socio-cultural and institutional factors. Our findings confirm Wirth's (1930 cited in Lin & Mele 2005) arguments that the unbalanced relationship between residents of the case studies is a result of the creation of huge districts in terms of size and population. This shows that life in such districts is characterised by what Tonkiss (2005: 13), in his analysis of cities in developed economies, called 'anonymity, isolation and differentiation'. The huge scale of modern residential areas and their diverse communities has assisted not only in the breakdown of social ties but also in the disappearance of a traditional lifestyle along with its shared cultural norms. Consequently, all sense of community has vanished and been replaced by impersonal contact, which, in its turn, has caused the decline of the public realm (Arendt 1958; Jacobs 1961; Relph 1976; Sennett 1977).

In terms of construction materials, our survey also illustrates that public spaces that have been built within the case study areas have been rendered inappropriate by deficient designs and by the way in which the residential areas have been constructed. More importantly, they have been made more problematic by inappropriate maintenance and management, both of which define their condition. There is a shared sense of dissatisfaction and pessimism about the way the municipality and its contractors maintain these spaces. As a result, such spaces support activities such as littering, vandalism and anti-social behaviour, and have thus caused a material deterioration in the quality of the residential environment. The under-management of public spaces and the failure of local authorities to deal satisfactorily with any major contemporary issues – such as irresponsible public attitudes towards outdoor areas – have created derelict public space landscapes. These, in their turn, have resulted in minimal public use of these spaces and have forced people to withdraw to their own private realms.

Despite public unease with the quality of public space provision, we have seen that, whereas most public spaces within the case study areas lost their significance as places in which people could gather, socialize and entertain, in some residential areas (such as al-Salamah) these spaces gave heart to the community and helped to increase cohesion

among its inhabitants. As indicated in the survey results, the residents of al-Salamah are more satisfied with the general condition of public spaces than the residents of the other two case study districts. This may be because the residents of this district (a medium density area: 129 persons per hectare) feel safer insofar as they believe that they live in a relatively socially cohesive neighbourhood. In his analysis of cities in developed economies, Jopp (2008) points out the positive potential of small scale interactions among local communities to assist in enabling new forms of collective action.

Similarly, in al-Salamah, public participation has encouraged greater numbers of working residents who are willing to abide by the rules to demand improvement of public spaces from the municipality, and has prompted participation by the private sector. Everyday feelings generated a successful involvement on the part of community groups in improving outdoor areas by introducing, among other things, better landscaping and street furniture, along with the physical improvement of outdoor areas and improvements to public safety. Together, these factors led residents to feel more attached to their residential environment and more comfortable when visiting friends and relatives living nearby; they also encouraged them to be active in outdoor areas on a frequent basis. This helps generate the impression that the residents of the district view their neighbourhood as relatively stable socially, since they now organize regular social activities within these areas.

In contrast, those residents who took part in other case studies (Al-Sharafeyah and al-Shate'e) expressed themselves in more negative terms in order to register their dissatisfaction with both the subjective and objective aspects of public space provision. It is obvious that people in al-Sharafeyah (a high density area with more than 200 people per hectare) were suffering from a very mixed social environment, with multi-story buildings which increased anonymity and alienation while reducing social interaction. Many families needed to share access to the buildings and the public spaces around them, in areas that tended to be crowded and easily accessible to outsiders. Similarly, many non-Saudi male labours were concentrated there because of the high density of endless ribbon commercial developments along the main streets. This in turn reduced public safety and security and made residents unable to influence or control activities in outdoor areas near

them. Consequently, residents tend to feel that they have less control over their social environment (Freeman 2001; Williams 2005).

In al-Shate'e district (a low-density area with fewer than 100 persons per hectare), dissatisfaction levels with the general condition of public space and other matters, such as safety and socialization, remain high despite better management and improvements generated by the municipality. This is because this district has been designated as a high class residential area, where the most prestigious buildings in the city are located. Accordingly, the standard of living of residents is high and their expectations in this regard are difficult to meet. Moreover, the disruptive nature of maintenance work carried out by the municipality in outdoor areas contributed to residents' negative ratings.

In summary, as discussed in the preceding paragraphs, the fragmentation of the neighbourhood fabric and its residential density are important factors that contribute to the satisfaction respondents experience with regard to the quality of public space. The ambiguous qualities of these outdoor spaces have led to the loss of a sense of community and responsibility among residents and have provided little incentive to encourage residents in any one group to seek out other communities.

11.5 The research recommendations

The process of urban planning, design and management of cities tends to focus on key issues such as the fragmentation of development policies and the degraded quality of urban design and management practices. While the unconsidered physical and social outcomes of the fragmented national development policies are as disruptive to the sustainability of city growth and social integration, physical design and management practices applied without concern for the desires and behaviour patterns of residents will lead to their dissatisfaction with the quality of residential environments and public amenities such as public space provision. Overall, these issues have helped structure the general conclusions of this study, assembled in the following three sets. The first set concerns national, spatial and economic planning strategies that have been created to tackle urban and social issues in cities. The second set explores how we may improve public space governance in Jeddah. Finally, the

third set of recommendations concerns the question of how to deliver well designed public spaces within modern residential areas in the city.

11.5.1 Reshaping urban governance in Saudi cities

First: To build new trajectories for the development of Saudi cities, there is a need for an integrated national policy to connect urban and regional spatial planning to the national context. Such a policy should be proactive and should deal with natural-physical, social-cultural and political-administrative aspects of strategic planning and with the issue of the adverse impacts of development projects at different levels. Moreover, this policy should reinvent cities without social exclusion, offering equal access to all urban resources. Additionally, it should decisively define local priority actions for territorial development and afford clear agendas for policy implementation and uncoordinated activities by different agencies in charge of regulating urban growth and the delivery of public amenities at regional and local levels.

Second: To ensure harmonious cooperation with the state apparatus and bring an emphatic end to the bureaucracy and top-down control, there is an urgent need for a further reshaping of urban management responsibilities within the various government agencies in charge of the regulation of urban development and the delivery of public services. This is needed in order to avoid traditional conflicts within the political realm, redefining their responsibilities, priorities and tools in a balanced way that will be synergetic with initiatives to establish new forms of regional and local governance. In line with this, there is a need to support the realization of the 2009 approval by the Minister of the Interior and the Minister of the Civil Service for the rearrangement of the existing organizational structures of the provincial system in the Kingdom, a rearrangement which suggested the creation of new specialised deputies for the management of urban development. Potentially, this new initiative (which was consciously attached to a regional focus) would be a good step towards linking national economic policies with spatial planning while strengthening the role of regional bodies in providing a strong foundation of integral place-focused policy agendas that will ensure that the allocation of major capital expenditure is taking place according to a locally agreed vision of city development.

Third: The empirical data show that the Saudi government has made efforts at incorporating the concept of urban governance into city development, efforts which have been accompanied by exhortations to involve stakeholders in developing and implementing urban policies. However, putting such a concept into operation in a large city such as Jeddah is problematic. For urban governance arrangements to be fruitful, it is imperative to induce various stakeholders to organise themselves in partnership structures. This implies, first, a need to establish legislation that clearly defines the legal requirements, policy obligations and required activities of various stakeholders; secondly, that local authorities need to transform themselves into service delivery conglomerates in order to become strategic enabling agencies working in partnership with citizens and firms; and thirdly, that consultation mechanisms should be developed in order to ensure the coordination of stakeholders' views and aspirations. Moreover, an emphasis on inclusive and participatory developments in the decision-making process at the local level entails that the current configuration of the modernized municipal councils should be reinforced by a well-established legal framework that gives municipal councillors decisive authority and the legal standing with which to counter any effort that may undermine their vital role. This action in turn would lead to the interpretation and implementation of development policies and physical plans, ensuring that resources are invested where needed.

11.5.2 Promoting public space management in Jeddah

First: To ensure that the exercise of public space governance is taking place smoothly, the establishment of cohesive strategies for the delivery of public space at both national and local levels is urgently needed. These strategies need to be proactive and attached to acceptable criteria rather than being prescriptive statements of urban development policies that detach actions from their local priorities. Moreover, these strategies should be enacted in a way that permit the achievement of long-term objectives and ensure that the desired targets can be met with available human and financial resources. Moreover, it is important for local authorities to guarantee that their achievements and new initiatives are measured against broad collective social goals and that their decision processes will be included in the overall principles underlying their work.

Second: As stressed by Carmona, de-Magalhaes et al. (2008), in order to create successful public spaces that people use and which contribute to good governance, it is essential to adopt an innovative regulatory approach for public space provision – an approach that has the potential to frame policy agendas to bring public space management forward as a more coherent basis for government activity. This in turn requires the establishment of regulatory agencies with a stake in the delivery of several public space amenities instead of their being handled as an implicit part of general city management or through a fragmented regulatory regime.

Third: As pointed out by Punter (1998), past experience in cities within developed economies indicates that, for promoting design and environmental qualities, the public sector has to take the lead whenever it upgrades the quality of community facilities, streets and public spaces. Given the growing demand for public amenities and the massive expansion of municipal responsibilities, there is a need to ensure basic conditions for financial resources for Jeddah Municipality; this is in order to empower its officials, who have to resolve the multiple challenges confronting public space management. Adequate financial resources should be guaranteed in order to bring the necessary expertise and well-trained staff into the municipality. Moreover, in order to increase the responsiveness and efficacy of public space management in Jeddah, it is imperative to look for further improvements in the organizational structure in a way that will enable its officials to facilitate the creation of effective collaborations with other stakeholders. Such a structure should more strategic so that it can secure inter-agency, multi-level and multi-agency coordination by the public space management.

Fourth: Our findings show that irresponsible public attitudes towards outdoor areas and the illegal use of these spaces (such as unauthorized trading, vehicle dumping, littering and offloading garbage) can be considered as an adverse effect caused by weak enforcement of the laws and the fragmentation of responsibility for the elements of public space management. To resolve this issue, it is imperative first to ensure the availability of decisive and applicable laws and bylaws that could be used to control these illegal activities. Secondly, an integrated enforcement team must be established with members from different Municipality departments and from a range of authorities whose remit is to

tackle such problems as the police department. Thirdly, more educational programmes must be launched by the municipality as a means of encouraging social responsibility, enhancing general awareness about keeping the city clean and reinvigorating society through collective action to prevent the illegal use of public places.

11.5.3 Urban Design principles for public space provision

First: To resolve the problem of the functionalist notion of public space, the plan of action for its provision should consider wider meanings in the primary concept beyond functional and aesthetic considerations. This should lead to a degree of awareness about how to organise such spaces in a way that acknowledges their multiple dimensions: spatial, socio-cultural and institutional, all of which are of real importance. Any narrow prioritising of one particular dimension would lead to the isolation of its context and to the undermining of its role as a contributor to the enhancement of the urban and social fabric (Madanipour 1997; Carmona, Heath et al. 2003; Punter 2010).

Second: As pointed out in the urban design literature (Carr, Francis et al. 1992; Low 2000; Madanipour 2003a; Lang 2005; Williams 2005; Talen 2008), in order to promote the public realm and confront the intensified fragmentation of urban and social fabrics, it is essential to emphasise the principle of togetherness in organising and regulating public spaces. Moreover, managing the anonymity and anxiety of the modern city can be achieved by incorporating the principles of territorial definition and mixed use. These principles can help in ensuring natural surveillance and avoiding the detachment of people from street life. Based on these arguments, the promotion of public space within modern residential areas in Jeddah should be viewed not only as a vehicle with which to change the image of these areas but also as a node for social interaction and shared experience, and a means of retaining surveillance and safety measures. This in turn would be a positive step in the revival of public spaces that will allow people who use them to interact.

Third: to revitalise modern neighbourhoods in Jeddah, the historical city's unique urban fabric and architectural style should be acknowledged and emphasized in the design process. Physical features such as the clustering of buildings and open spaces and the continuity of the pedestrian network should provide a recognisable overall image.

Moreover, the appreciation of environmental symbolism and the experience of place in the design process entail a thoroughgoing appraisal not only of the historical character of the city but also for contemporary physical aspects, coupled with a sense of how these aspects mean different things to different people. Local experts working within an active frontier of local design research and significant public consultation, are, therefore, urgently needed in order to provide a good basis for specifying the preferred forms, developing appropriate design guidelines and aesthetic controls, and articulating the wishes of local communities.

Fourth: In order to enhance the organization and overall appearance of public spaces within residential areas in Jeddah, these areas should be organized so that they may enter into a strong relationship with the surrounding buildings, may be visually enclosed by a variety of attractive elements, have their floors well designed and paved with suitable material, and be furnished with high quality landscaping elements. Moreover, as pointed out by Carmona, Heath et al. (2003), we need to achieve a holistic approach to urban quality. Design solutions should achieve a balance between aesthetic quality through the enclosure design principle and the incorporation of other principles such as accessibility, permeability and legibility, which influence how a successful is a public space used and in producing visual quality.

Fifth: From the functionalist tradition of urban design, Carmona, Heath et al. (2003) point out that for a public space to be responsive, it should support at least two of the primary needs that people expect from a public space delivery. Taken together, these are comfort, relaxation, passive engagement, active engagement and discovery. In Jeddah, in order to incorporate the principle of comfort in public spaces within modern residential areas, the integration of this space with the natural and built environments should be a key objective. Modification of the impact of the extremely hot climate can be achieved by the configuration of space in relationship with surrounding spatial units, the orientation of spaces with respect to the direction of sunlight and shade, and the use of trees and other landscaping elements such as pergolas. Achieving comfort can be also supported by ensuring that the allocation of these spaces within safe walking distances from where their users live. Additionally, as argued by Marcus and Sarkissian (1986), for a public space to provide relaxation its landscaping should incorporate natural elements such as trees,

greenery, and water features, and should ensure the functional separation of vehicular and pedestrian movement as important factors that will deepen sensations of relaxation.

Sixth: In modern residential areas, giving priority to cars to traverse urban space has undermined the close relationship between urban spaces and the buildings around them. As stressed in the literature (e.g Trancik 1986), the design of a neighbourhood should provide for pedestrian movement. In line with this, city planners and urban designers should ensure that the layout of land subdivision allows for the establishment of a public space network and pedestrian-friendly environment as prerequisites for approving future schemes. Such a network should be accessible to traffic but must suit the scale and comfort of users.

Seventh: The practice of public space provision should not only address hygienic and aesthetic purposes but should also cater for the activities of different users in terms of gender, age, and race. As indicated above, in the allocation of these spaces, it is essential to balance between popular wishes and individual interests. Thus, public spaces that have been designated to serve as areas for physical activities such as football courts should be allocated at the edge of neighbourhoods in order to avoid causing a nuisance for adjacent residential buildings. To achieve balance and avoid conflict, it is important to encourage a residents' referendum and to allow different individuals and groups to engage in a dialogue on how the available public spaces within their communities should be designed and consumed. In this respect, we should note that, while the provision of a safe and secure urban setting is important, collective and individual interests need to be balanced in the design of public spaces. More to, the wish of one individual to express exclusion or to avoid a nuisance caused by the users of these spaces should be balanced with the activity itself in order to provide an equitable and safe public realm.

Eighth: Facilitating the use of a dynamic urban space requires an understanding of the temporal dimension of urban design. This requires us to analyze the social process that produces and changes the space, along with observation of the experience of daily life within the space at different times and seasons (Madanipour 1997; Carmona, Heath et al. 2003). Such an analysis of the temporal dimension would assist in enhancing the vitality of public spaces by fully exploiting the time when outdoor life and activity is possible. This may be achieved by designing public spaces that facilitate multiple activities and stimulate

socio-cultural programmes calculated to attract a broad range of social groups at different times. Moreover, understanding the incidence of temporal factors would help avoid the possibility of undesirable consequences such as physical harm, conflicts, overcrowding, traffic congestion, noise and so on, all of which may arise from allowing an overlap of activities for the regeneration of existing public urban spaces. Therefore, future spatial and cultural policies and actions that allow the overlap of activities and events for promoting a particular public space should create a broader and constantly evolving system to coordinate the diverse activities that may take place in any particular public space and to take into account any future changes that may occur in this space.

11.6 Suggested areas for future researches

In this research, we have applied the spatial-socio-cultural-institutional urban design approach developed by Ali Madanipour (2006) as a tool for approaching the holistic conception of urban public space and promoting the quality of the practice of public space provision within this context. Our application of this integrated model to the Jeddah case studies appears to give only a partial view of the quality of public space within modern residential areas and the satisfaction obtained by their users. This can be attributed in part to the limited samples and interviews which were conducted in order to formulate an understanding of the quality of public space provision within this context. It can also be attributed to the lack of updated data about the city concerning key urban issues such as health and safety, security, exclusion, segregation, and so on, and their role in defining the quality of the public realm. Thus, future research should continue to investigate the extent to which residents' feelings change with respect to the demographic make-up of residents, the emergence of a sedentary life style, the growth of popular media, the crime rate and anti-social behaviour (Varady and Carrozza 2000).

A wider exploration of different dimensions that affect the quality of urban public spaces and a deeper understanding of the perspectives of their users, regulators and providers would not only lead to a better understanding of the stakeholders' value systems but would also help to develop a well-integrated urban design model for the promotion of high quality practice in the sphere of public space provision.

As noted above, our findings show that where some public spaces are perceived by their residents as inviting and friendly, others appear less attractive and even frightening. The huge size of the district and the variations in the quality of its physical and social environment inevitably gave us different levels of well-being within the immediate environment. Moreover, aggregating these different levels did not give us a precise overall level for the well-being of residents. Thus, in order to establish a reliable representation of resident satisfaction, future studies should investigate the effect of local variations in places within the boundary of a particular neighbourhood, judged by residents' experiences about their nearby public spaces. This can be achieved by using techniques to map people's sense of well-being. This suggests that researchers should divide the districts into smaller zones (units of analysis) in a way that will enable individuals to carry out surveys in a reasonable amount of time (For more elaboration see Rofo 2004).

Previous research has revealed that the values and attitudes of individuals and of entire societies towards the quality of their urban environment change over time. What is not appreciated today may well be valued tomorrow and vice versa. This interplay of quality standards points towards the necessity for a further line of research in order to develop more research informed by temporal conceptions of the quality of a place. It also necessitates a much greater level of stakeholder views drawn from everyone directly involved in the practice of public space provision. Further detailed theoretical and empirical-explorative researches should continue to examine how changes in both the objective and subjective attributes can alter a resident's satisfaction and the quality of life in general. This would be a step forward in furthering our knowledge of environmental evaluations that can subsequently be considered within the practice of public space provision (Smith, Nelischer et al. 1997; Bonaiuto, Fornara et al. 2003; Van-Kamp, Leidelmeijera et al. 2003; Bonaiuto, Bonnes et al. 2004)

This study also looked at the fragmentation of national policies in producing sustainable development at local levels. Moreover, the study reviews the governance of public space provision in an urban centre within Saudi Arabia such as Jeddah in the light of ideas about stockholding. In order to develop a consistent conceptual framework that may suggest an innovatory regulatory approach that can address the formidable challenges cities

encounter, there is a need for further studies to look more deeply into normative issues encapsulated in urban governance. The key issues include power geometry, fragmentation of responsibilities, public participation, policy generation, policy prescription, implementation, privatization, organisational capacity and comprehensive coordination, as well as how these issues define the condition of good governance and affect the allocation and consumption of public amenities such as public space provision.

With regard to the promotion of urban governance and the importance of citizen participation in policy development and implementation, many academic researchers and public sector authority officials (McGill 1995; Healey 1997; UNCHS 1997; Varady and Carrozza 2000; Hamdi and Majale 2004; Solitare 2005; Abdulaal 2006; UN-Habitat 2008; World-Bank 2009) have asserted that citizens should be involved in decision-making to the maximum degree possible. However, these researches suggest that to create successful governance and for people's participation to be ultimately effective, future research should address the following questions: To what degree do stakeholders and individuals want to be actively involved? How would they like to be involved? And how much additional time would they be willing to spend? To what extent would the prevailing political and cultural realities, alongside the existing management capacity together with the educational levels of related stakeholders support or hinder the creation of meaningful participation in the decision-making process?

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Appendix 1



King Abdul-Aziz University
College of Environmental Design
Urban and Regional Planning Department

Newcastle University
School of Architecture, planning
and Landscape



Questionnaire purpose

Dear Respondent This questionnaire is part of an academic research for a Ph.D. programme in urban design. It will try to collect some information about the residents and their district which would reflect their living conditions, needs, and desires. It will try also to collect some information about the governmental officials and their responsibilities and opinions regarding the design and development management programmes of the existing public spaces within three residential areas in Jeddah city. The findings and analysis would be presented to concerned decision-makers who hopefully would utilize them for future provision of public open spaces. The main benefits of this interview will go back to these neighborhood's inhabitants to improve, protect and control their public spaces. However, the above depend on the cooperation of respondents, their consent to participate in this interview and the accuracy of their answers.

Please answer the following questions thinking about the neighbourhood that you live in the most. There is no right or wrong answers, we only want your opinions, and every thing you tell us will be kept strictly confidential. Please try to answer all the questions honestly.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION

Khalid Nasralden Mandeli
Postgraduate Research Student
Newcastle University

Questionnaire No.

--	--	--	--

Date		Residents Questionnaire Format	1
District name			
Interviewer's name			
Street name			

Part One: General information

1. What is the name of neighbourhood that you live in?

.....

2. Number of family who live in your dwelling (please indicate number)

Head of the household	<input type="text"/>	1	Relatives	<input type="text"/>	5
Wife	<input type="text"/>	2	Servants	<input type="text"/>	6
Sons	<input type="text"/>	3	Total number	<input type="text"/>	7
Daughters	<input type="text"/>	4			

3- Is the head of household?

Owner of the dwelling	<input type="text"/>	1	Other (<i>please specify</i>)	<input type="text"/>	3
Tenant	<input type="text"/>	2			

4- What is the occupation of the head of the household?

Government officer	<input type="text"/>	1	Retired	<input type="text"/>	5
Private sector employer	<input type="text"/>	2	Student	<input type="text"/>	5
Self employed	<input type="text"/>	3	Jobless	<input type="text"/>	7
Housewife only	<input type="text"/>	4	Other (<i>Please specify</i>)	<input type="text"/>	8

5- What is the income of the head of the household?

0001-2000 SR	<input type="text"/>	1	8001-10000 SR	<input type="text"/>	5
2001-4000 SR	<input type="text"/>	2	10001-12000 SR	<input type="text"/>	6
4001- 6000 SR	<input type="text"/>	3	Over 12001SR	<input type="text"/>	7
6001-8000 SR	<input type="text"/>	4	Other (<i>Please specify</i>)	<input type="text"/>	8

6. What kind of residence do you occupy?

Palace	<input type="text"/>	1	Traditional house	<input type="text"/>	4
Villa	<input type="text"/>	2	Apartment	<input type="text"/>	5
Semi-detached villa	<input type="text"/>	3	Other (<i>Please specify</i>)	<input type="text"/>	6

7. How long has the head of household lived in this neighbourhood?

Number of years

8. If you are NOT the head of household, what is your relationship to them?

Head of the household	<input type="text"/>	1	Father	<input type="text"/>	5
Wife of the household	<input type="text"/>	2	Mother	<input type="text"/>	6
Son	<input type="text"/>	3	Other (<i>Please specify</i>)	<input type="text"/>	7
Daughter	<input type="text"/>	4			

9. Your sex

Male	<input type="text"/>	1	Female	<input type="text"/>	2
------	----------------------	---	--------	----------------------	---

10. Your age

4 years and lower	<input type="text"/>	1	30- 44 years	<input type="text"/>	4
05-14 years	<input type="text"/>	2	45-59 years	<input type="text"/>	5
15-29 years	<input type="text"/>	3	60 years and over	<input type="text"/>	6

11. Your marital status

Single	<input type="text"/>	1	Widowed	<input type="text"/>	3
Married	<input type="text"/>	2	Divorce	<input type="text"/>	4

12. Your nationality

Saudi	<input type="text"/>	1	Non-Saudi	<input type="text"/>	2
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13. What is the highest level of education you have reached?

Uneducated	<input type="text"/>	1	Technical school	<input type="text"/>	6
Read and write	<input type="text"/>	2	Some college	<input type="text"/>	7
Elementary schooling	<input type="text"/>	3	University degree	<input type="text"/>	8
Intermediate	<input type="text"/>	4	graduate studies	<input type="text"/>	9
Secondary schooling	<input type="text"/>	5	Other (<i>please specify</i>)	<input type="text"/>	10

Part Two: Recreation and public spaces**14. When you go out for recreational purpose where do you usually go?**

Home yard	<input type="text"/>	1	Neighbourhood park	<input type="text"/>	6
Neighbour home	<input type="text"/>	2	Neighbourhood sport club	<input type="text"/>	7
The street in front of the home	<input type="text"/>	3	Outside the neighbourhood	<input type="text"/>	8
An empty lot of land	<input type="text"/>	4	Don't go out	<input type="text"/>	9
A small park near your home	<input type="text"/>	5	Other (<i>please specify</i>).	<input type="text"/>	10

15. When do you usually go out for recreation?

Weekday	<input type="text"/>	1	Both	<input type="text"/>	3
Weekends	<input type="text"/>	2	Neither	<input type="text"/>	4

16. Do you have a private yard within your property that can be used by you and your family on daily basis?

Yes	<input type="text"/>	1	No	<input type="text"/>	2
-----	----------------------	---	----	----------------------	---

17. Are there parks or outdoor space near to your home that you visit?

Yes	<input type="text"/>	1	No	<input type="text"/>	2
-----	----------------------	---	----	----------------------	---

If yes go to question 18, if no go to question 24**18. How do you usually get to the park which you usually visit?**

Walk	<input type="text"/>	1	driven	<input type="text"/>	5
Bicycle Bus/Taxi	<input type="text"/>	2	Bus/taxi	<input type="text"/>	6
Motorcycle	<input type="text"/>	3	Other (<i>Please specify</i>)	<input type="text"/>	7
Car	<input type="text"/>	4			

19. About how long it would takes you to walk from your home to this park?

..... (minutes)

20. How often each week do you use this park per week?

Summer Winter

21. With whom do you usually visit this park?

Alone	<input type="text"/>	1	With relatives	<input type="text"/>	4
With friend	<input type="text"/>	2	Organised group	<input type="text"/>	5
With immediate family	<input type="text"/>	3	Others (<i>Please specify</i>)	<input type="text"/>	6

22. When you visit this park, how long does this visit lasts?

Less than one hour	<input type="text"/>	1	Two hours	<input type="text"/>	3
One hour or more	<input type="text"/>	2	More than two hours	<input type="text"/>	4

23. In the table below are a list of activities, please choose the TWO most activities you actually do in when you go to the park that you usually visit. (Pleas tick the most appropriate box).

Solitary activities (being alone, reading, waking through the park, etc.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Social activities (playing, taking with friends, waking through the park, etc.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
Community activities (Festivals, parties, etc.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	3
Food-related activities (eating, barbecuing, etc.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	4
Team activities (Football, basketball, softball, Frisbee, etc.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	5
Physical exercises (running, Jogging, bicycling, etc.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	6
Other (<i>please explain</i>)	<input type="checkbox"/>	7

24. What do you think of the provision of park/play area near to your home?

Very poor	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	Good	<input type="checkbox"/>	4
poor	<input type="checkbox"/>	2	Excellent	<input type="checkbox"/>	5
Fair	<input type="checkbox"/>	3			

25. In your opinion which of the below are the FOUR most limiting factors for activity in the local park in your neighbourhood? Please tick the appropriate answers.

There is not enough space to be active in	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
There is no choice of activities	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
There is no adult supervision	<input type="checkbox"/>	3
Traffic noise	<input type="checkbox"/>	4
It is not safe because of crime (strangers, gangs, drugs)	<input type="checkbox"/>	5
There are too many people there	<input type="checkbox"/>	6
There is no good street lighting.	<input type="checkbox"/>	7
Too much sun and lack of shade	<input type="checkbox"/>	8
It is difficult to get to	<input type="checkbox"/>	9
Other (<i>please explain</i>)	<input type="checkbox"/>	10

Part Three: Socio-cultural aspects and neighbourhood character

26. What do you think of the socially mixed nature of your neighbourhoods?

Like it	<input type="checkbox"/>	1	Dislike it	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
---------	--------------------------	---	------------	--------------------------	---

Please explain

.....

.....

27. How friendly is your neighbourhood?

Not enough

	1
	2

Too much

	3
--	---

About right

28. How interested are you in the events and affairs of your Neighbourhood?

I am interested and participate

	1
--	---

I am interested but don't participate

	2
--	---

I am not interested but participate

	3
--	---

I am not interested nor do I participate

	4
--	---

Other (*please specify*).

	5
--	---

29. Do you enjoy walking in your neighbourhood?

Yes

	1
	2

Sometimes

	3
--	---

No

30. Mention three things you think that are missing from your neighbourhood.

- 1.....
- 2.....
- 3.....

31. Mention three positive aspects of the traditional neighbourhoods in Jeddah you like to see in your current neighbourhood.

- 1.....
- 2.....
- 3.....

32. Do you agree with the new suggestion of the Ministry of Municipal and Rural affairs of adopting the idea of gated communities in the modern residential areas in cities of Saudi Arabia in order to regulate undesirable through traffic and passers by?

Yes

	1
--	---

No

	2
--	---

33. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements/judgements related to the quality of your neighbourhood?

<i>1. Strongly agree</i>	<i>2. Agree</i>	<i>3. Agree to a certain extent</i>	<i>4. Disagree</i>	<i>5. strongly disagree</i>
1. This is an ideal neighbourhood to live in				
1	2	3	4	5
2. The neighbourhood population includes all kinds of people				
1	2	3	4	5
3. Many people in this neighbourhood take no interest in others' problems				
1	2	3	4	5
4. You often get the feeling of not being able to move freely in the neighbourhood				
1	2	3	4	5
5. This neighbourhood has no aesthetic value				
1	2	3	4	5
6. There are few interesting things in the neighbourhood				
1	2	3	4	5
7. You risk unpleasant encounters going around the neighbourhood late at night				
1	2	3	4	5
8. The intensity of the traffic in this neighbourhood is really very annoying				
1	2	3	4	5

Part Four: Assessment of urban planning management and maintenance process.

34. What are the most significant problems facing the residents of your neighbourhood with the planning and construction of public spaces in Jeddah?

- 1.....
2

35. Do you have any idea about the strategies or programs and policies that the municipality carries out in relation to public spaces within your neighbourhood?

Yes ☐ 1 No ☐ 2

36. Do you think the participation of residents in planning and designing of public spaces within their neighbourhood would improve the existing situation?

Yes ☐ 1 No ☐ 2

37. Do you think the involvement of the residents in management of public spaces within modern neighbourhoods is a realistic suggestion in terms of?

Contact with residents (help determining their needs and desires)		1
Residents Know how		2
Avoiding waste (time and money) in planning and design process		3
Other (<i>please specify</i>).		4

38. Do you think privately operated programmes for the management and maintenance of Local Park within your neighbourhood might be better than government operated ones? Why?

- 1.....
 2.
 3.....

39. From the below suggestions for future public space provision please choose one that you think it would help in improving the existing situation?

Encourage resident participation in the construction and maintenance process		1
Encourage privately operated programme for the improvement of public spaces		2
Employment of professional for public space supervision		3
Other (<i>please specify</i>)		4

Part Five: Assessment of urban design of local public spaces

40. Public space should have (From the following design criteria for public space provisions, tick the most important THREE criteria?)

More grass as a ground cover		1
Shade and protect the play areas from climatic condition		2
More consideration for the pedestrian		3
Night Lighting		4
Toilets, drink water and first aid		5
Mosques and prayer areas		6
Buildings that serve as indoor play spaces		7
Areas for adults that wish to accompany their children		8
Locations should be where they can be overlooked by people in their homes		9
Automobiles speed need to be controlled		10
Other (<i>please specify</i>).		11

41. How satisfied are you with the following aspects of the public spaces within your neighbourhood?

1. <i>Very satisfied</i>	2. <i>Satisfied</i>	3. <i>Indifferent</i>	4. <i>Dissatisfied</i>	5. <i>Very dissatisfied</i>
1. General condition				
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
2. The climatic protections (shade)				
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
3. The site as a social gathering place				
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
4. Availability of clubs for adult				
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
5. Privacy from passers by				
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
6. Children's safety from cars				
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
7. Surrounding building (shape and layout)				
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
8. Noise level				
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
9. Garbage collection				
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
10. Other (specify)				
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.

With this we come to the conclusion of this interview, I would like to thank you for your time and co-operation and hope that this interview is a positive step towards establishing better public spaces in Jeddah in the future.

NOTE: are there any comments, suggestion and/or remarks that may give hand in developing and enhancing public open spaces within modern residential areas you would like to mention?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

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.....

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.....

.....

Appendix 2



King Abdul-Aziz University
College of Environmental Design
Urban and Regional Planning Department

Newcastle University
School of Architecture, planning
and Landscape



Questionnaire purpose

Dear Respondent This questionnaire is part of an academic research for the Ph.D. programme in urban design. It will try to collect some information about the residents and their district which would reflect their living conditions, needs, and desires. It will try also to collect some information about the governmental official and their responsibilities and opinions regarding the design and development management programmes of the existing public spaces within three residential areas in Jeddah city. The findings and analysis would be presented to concerned decision-makers who hopefully would utilize them for future provision of public open spaces. The main benefits of this interview will go back to these neighborhood's inhabitants to improve, protect and control their public spaces. However, the above depend on the cooperation of respondents, their consent to participate in this interview and the accuracy of their answers.

Please answer the following questions thinking about the neighbourhood that you live in the most. There is no right or wrong answers, we only want your opinions, and every thing you tell us will be kept strictly confidential. Please try to answer all the questions honestly.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION

Khalid Nasraldin Mandeli
Postgraduate Research Student
Newcastle University

Questionnaire No.

--	--	--	--

Date		Students Questionnaire Format	2
District name			
Interviewer's name			
Street name			

Please read the questions and answer carefully before choosing your answer

ABOUT YOU

1. How old are you?

4 and less

☐

1

15 – 29 years

☐

3

30 – 44 years

☐

2

45 and more

☐

4

2. What gender are you?

Male

☐

1

Female

☐

2

3. What is your nationality?

Saudi

☐

1

Non-Saudi

☐

2

4. What is the highest level of education you have reached?

Uneducated

☐

1

Technical school

☐

6

Read and write

☐

2

Some college

☐

7

Elementary schooling

☐

3

University degree

☐

8

Intermediate

☐

4

graduate studies

☐

9

Secondary schooling

☐

5

Other (*please specify*)☐

10

5. In Which district of Jeddah do you live? If you don't know, name something famous near your home

.....

ABOUT YOUR HOME

6. What type of home do you live in?

Palace

☐

1

Traditional house

☐

4

Villa

☐

2

Apartment

☐

5

Semi-detached villa

☐

3

Other (Please specify)

☐

6

7. Do you have a private yard within your property that can be used by you and your family on daily basis?

Yes

☐

1

No

☐

2

PLAYING OUTSIDE

8. Do you play outside the gate of your home usually?

Yes

1

No

2

9. When you play outside, where do you usually play?

Home yard

1

Neighbourhood park

6

Neighbour home

2

Neighbourhood sport club

7

The street in front of the home

3

Outside the neighbourhood

8

An empty lot of land

4

Don't go out

9

A small park near your home

5

Other (*please specify*).

10

10. When you usually play outside your home?

Weekday

1

Both

3

Weekends

2

Neither

4

AT THE PARK

11. Do you have a park or play area near your home that you visit?

Yes

1

No

2

If yes go to question 12 – if no go to question 18

12. How do you usually get to the park or play area you usually visit?

Walk

1

Were driven

5

Bicycle Bus/Taxi

2

Bus/taxi

6

Motorcycle

3

Other (Please specify)

7

Drive a car

4

13. About how long it would it take you to walk form your home to this park?

..... (Minutes)

14. How many times every week do you play outside usually?

Summer

Winter

If you play less than 3 times a week why you don't play outside more?

1. _____
2. _____

15. With whom you usually go out to play?

- | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|---|-----------------|--------------------------|---|
| Alone | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 | With relatives | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 |
| With friend | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 | Organised group | <input type="checkbox"/> | 5 |
| With immediate family | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 | Others | <input type="checkbox"/> | 6 |

16. When you visit this park, how long does this visit lasts?

- | | | | | | |
|--------------------|--------------------------|---|---------------------|--------------------------|---|
| Less than one hour | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 | Two hours | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 |
| One hour or more | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 | More than two hours | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 |

17. In the table below are a list of activities, please choose the TWO most activities you actually do when you go to the park that you usually visit. (Pleas tick the most appropriate box).

Solitary activities (being alone, reading, relaxing, etc.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Social activities (playing with children, taking with friends, waking with friends etc.).	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
Community activities (Festivals, parties, etc.).	<input type="checkbox"/>	3
Food-related activities (eating, barbecuing, etc.).	<input type="checkbox"/>	4
Team activities (Football, basketball, softball, Frisbee, etc.).	<input type="checkbox"/>	5
Physical exercises (running, Jogging, bicycling, etc.).	<input type="checkbox"/>	6
Other (<i>please explain</i>).	<input type="checkbox"/>	7

YOUR NEIGHBOURHOOD

18. Mention three things you think that are missing from your neighbourhood.

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

19. Do you enjoy walking in your neighbourhood?

- | | | | | | |
|-----|--------------------------|---|----------|--------------------------|---|
| Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 | Sometime | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 |
| No | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 | | | |

20. How do you describe your neighbourhood?

Very poor	<input type="text"/>	1	Good	<input type="text"/>	4
poor	<input type="text"/>	2	Excellent	<input type="text"/>	5
Fair	<input type="text"/>	3			

21. How do you describe the local parks within your neighbourhood?

Very poor	<input type="text"/>	1	Good	<input type="text"/>	4
poor	<input type="text"/>	2	Excellent	<input type="text"/>	5
Fair	<input type="text"/>	3			

22. In your opinion which of the below are the most limiting factors for activity in the local park in your neighbourhood? Please tick the appropriate answers.

There is not enough space to be active in	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
There is no choice of activities	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
There is no adult supervision	<input type="checkbox"/>	3
Traffic noise	<input type="checkbox"/>	4
It is not safe because of crime (strangers, gangs, drugs)	<input type="checkbox"/>	5
There are too many people there	<input type="checkbox"/>	6
There is no good street lighting.	<input type="checkbox"/>	7
Too much sun and lack of shade	<input type="checkbox"/>	8
It is difficult to get to	<input type="checkbox"/>	9
Other (<i>please explain</i>).	<input type="checkbox"/>	10

23 Public space should have (From the following design criteria for public space provisions, tick the most important THREE criteria?)

More grass as a ground cover	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Shade and protect the play areas from climatic condition	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
More consideration for the pedestrian	<input type="checkbox"/>	3
Night Lighting	<input type="checkbox"/>	4
Toilets, drink water and first aid	<input type="checkbox"/>	5
Mosques and prayer areas	<input type="checkbox"/>	6
Buildings that serve as indoor play spaces	<input type="checkbox"/>	7
Areas for adults that wish to accompany their children	<input type="checkbox"/>	8
Locations should be where they can be overlooked by people in their homes	<input type="checkbox"/>	9
Automobiles speed need to be controlled	<input type="checkbox"/>	10
Other (<i>please specify</i>).	<input type="checkbox"/>	11

Thank you for helping us in this questionnaire...

NOTE: If you have any commons, suggestions and/or remarks you would like to put forth, please do so in the blank space provided below.

Comments, Suggestions, remarks

Appendix 3



King Abdul-Aziz University
College of Environmental Design
Urban and Regional Planning Department

Newcastle University
School of Architecture, planning
and Landscape



Questionnaire purpose

Dear Respondent This questionnaire is part of an academic research for the Ph.D. program in urban design. It will try to collect some information about the residents and their district which would reflect their living conditions, needs, and desires. It will try also to collect some information about the governmental official and their responsibilities and opinions regarding the design and development management programmes of the existing public spaces within three residential areas in Jeddah city. The findings and analysis would be presented to concerned decision-makers who hopefully would utilize them for future provision of public open spaces. The main benefits of this interview will go back to these neighbourhood's inhabitants to improve, protect and control their public spaces. However, the above depend on the cooperation of respondents, their consent to participate in this interview and the accuracy of their answers.

Please answer the following questions thinking about the neighbourhood that you live in the most. There is no right or wrong answers, we only want your opinions, and every thing you tell us will be kept strictly confidential. Try to answer all the questions honestly.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION

Khalid Nasralden Mandeli
Postgraduate Research Student
University of Newcastle upon Tyne

Questionnaire No.

--	--	--

Date		Municipality official Format	3
District name			
Interviewer's name			
Street name			

Part I - Existing Situation

- (1) How would you evaluate the public open space within modern residential areas?

Very poor
poor
Fair

1
2
3

Good
Excellent

4
5

- (2) In your opinion which of the below are the three most limiting factors to public spaces within modern neighbourhoods in Jeddah?

There is no enough space
There is no choice of activities
There is no adult supervision
Traffic noise
It is not safe because of crime (stranger, gangs, drugs)
The climate of Jeddah is extremely hot
The high density in the residential area
People have very little time
Poor condition of available public spaces
Other (<i>please explain</i>).

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10

- (3) In your opinion what are the main problem with the design and planning of public spaces within modern residential areas in Jeddah?

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____
6. _____

- (4) In your authority, what are the main stages or steps taken in providing open space for within modern residential areas (e.g., field survey, public consultations, etc.) (*please list them in order*).

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____
6. _____

- (5) Does your authority currently have:
- i) A specific policy for the provision of open space?
 1. Yes, when was this policy initiated _____
 2. No
 - ii) A specific policy for the management of open space?
 1. Yes, when was this policy initiated _____
 2. No
 - iii) A combined policy for the provision and management of open space?
 1. Yes, when was this policy initiated _____
 2. No
- (6) Which of the following do you consider to be the priority (*please circle as appropriate*)?
- 1) Provision and development of new open space
 - 2) Management of the existing open space
 - 3) Provision and management of open space
- (7) What are the main goals that your authority would like to achieve through open space provision (*please list them in order of importance*)?
1. _____
 2. _____
 3. _____
 4. _____
 5. _____
- (8) Which of these goals, from the question above, have been achieved (*please circle to indicate "achieved"*)?
- 1 2 3 4 5 6
- (9) What other departments in your authority or outside organizations do you collaborate with in producing policies for urban open space?
- | Department or Organization | Primary function / input |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. _____ | _____ |
| 2. _____ | _____ |
| 3. _____ | _____ |
| 4. _____ | _____ |
| 5. _____ | _____ |

- (10) How do you determine what recreation activities/experiences are to be permitted in a given public space?

- (11) How do you measure the recreation needs and preferences of your local population?

- (12) In line with the two questions above, which of the following techniques or approaches forms the basis of your open space provision?

1. Use of standards
5. Priority social area approach
2. Open space hierarchy
3. Organic/incremental approach
7. Community development approach
4. Gross demand approach
8. Other (please specify)

- (13) How do you measure the effectiveness of open space and its facilities in satisfying recreation needs and preferences of your local population?

- (14) In what ways has the imposition of the competitive Tendering and the municipality maintenance programmes effected the provision and management of open space?

- (15) How much do the following factors influence the nature of the provision of urban open space within modern residential areas?

Factor	Strong	Little	No	Comment (what is the influence?)
1. Tradition and the legacy of the past				
2. Weak/inadequate legislative guidance				
3. Budgetary limits/cutbacks				
4. Scarcity and the price of land				
5. Marginalisation of public space provision as non-statutory service areas				
6. Socio-economic factors (unemployment, vandalism, etc.,)				
7. Organisational structure of the department or authority				
8. Pragmatism				
9. Professionalism				
10. Other _____				

- (16) What are the most significant problems facing those responsible for open space provision in the residential area?

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____

Part II - Recommendations for Future Planning and Provision System

- (17) Do you believe that the Planning Policy Guidance provides sufficient guidance for the provision and management of urban open space?

1) Yes

2) No (if not, please explain why) _____

- (18) Do you think a specific legislative framework to guide and control the provision of urban open space would contribute to a more efficient provision system?

1) Yes (please detail below)

2) No (please detail below)

- (19) Does your office have a programme that would guarantee a higher quality public space provision within modern residential areas in the future?

1) Yes (please detail below)

2) No (please detail below)

- (20) Are there any other organisations those which provide sufficient guidance to local authorities about urban open space provision?

Yes

1

No

2

If yes please list them

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

6.

- (21) In what form has this guidance been provided (*please cite reference if you mention any official policies, reports etc.*)?

(22) Do you think people participation in decision making process regarding the planning, management and maintenance of the local parks and public spaces would improve the existing situation?

Yes

 1

No

 2

Why

(23) Do you think people in your neighbourhood are interested in improving of the local parks and public spaces within their neighbourhood?

Yes

 1

No

 2

Why

(24) At what point, do you think, privately operated programmes for the management and maintenance of Local Park within your neighbourhood are better than government operated ones?

1.

2.

3.

(25) At what point, do you think, government operated programme are better than privately operated ones?

1.

2.

3.

(26) Please identify the future actions needed to improve public space provision within modern neighbourhoods.

1.

2.

3.

(27) Could you indicate what you consider to be the important future trends in public space provision within modern residential areas?

(28) From the below suggestion please choose four that you think would help the most in improving the existing situation of public spaces within modern residential areas in Jeddah

Shade and protect the play areas from climatic condition		1
More consideration for the pedestrian, and		2
Automobiles need to be controlled in terms of speed		3
School play areas remain open to the neighbourhood outside school hours		4
Public parks designs need to consider use and not only aesthetics		5
Encourage resident participation in the construction and maintenance process		6
Encourage privately operated programme for the improvement of public spaces		7
Employment of professional for public space supervision		8
Other (<i>please specify</i>).		9

Thank you very much for your time and cooperation.

Jeddah transect walks

Transect walks as a part of fieldwork carried out during the period 18 June to September 2006, from 25 December to January 2007, and July 2008. During the field trip the author of this thesis took around the community to observe the state of existing public spaces in the selected three residential areas in Jeddah, people, surroundings and resources.

Transect walks are, therefore, spatial data-gathering tools provide the researcher with an overall view of the spatial and social qualities of the residential areas under investigation and help him to formulate an understanding of the quality of public space within these areas and identify issues that might merit further exploration. These transect walks look as little as an hour or as long as a day, depending on the size of the neighbourhood and the amount of time available.

The major objective is to observe:

The spatial qualities of the urban fabric.

- The social qualities of various residential areas.
- Land use, residential, commercial, office, etc.
- Building density, types, highest, and condition.
- Transportation and circulation systems.
- Community facilities and public services.
- Available activity nodes and land marks.
- Pedestrian network, public open and landscape.
- The consumption of existing public spaces.
- Security and safety measures.
- Sense of community and attachment.



Case study Al-Salamah district

Transect walk 2008

Residential Park

Right

Aerial photographs showing the residential public space surrounded by streets and enclosed by apartment buildings. The geometry of the park took a rectangular shape

Below

Series images of the park taken from several viewpoints clearly show the prevailing design-led beautification practice of public space provision. The images also show that the proportion of the park to building height does not help in the creation of an enclosed space

This residential park is located within residential blocks with a rectangular shape and covers an area of 6,138 square meters. As was the case in the multipurpose park mentioned previously, this one is also defined by the edges of the buildings and the kerbs of the surrounding streets. In terms of design, the park is divided into smaller compartments by curvilinear pathways so that a person can move from one setting to another.

Morphologically, the problem is not only related to the way the park has been designed but may also be attributed to its location, which can be conceived as a square isolated from the surrounding buildings. The existence of the surrounding streets that reduce accessibility, the rigid edges and the poor quality of the finish of the buildings, the deficiency in the dimensional proportion of the size of the park when set against the height of the surrounding buildings, and the lack of symbolic references in the park composition to its context.



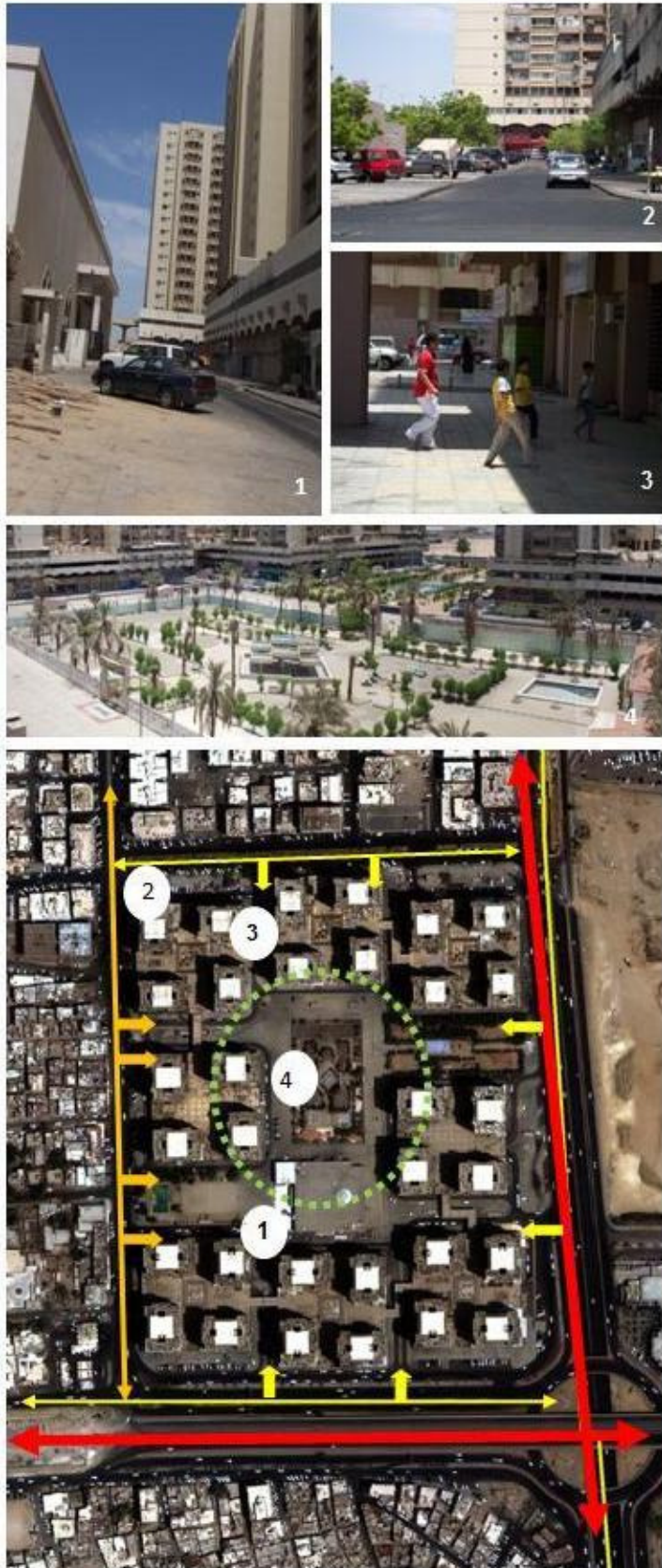
Al-Sharafeyah

Apartment Tower Park

Al-Sharafeyah district is located on the north periphery of the old town of Jeddah. It is one of the biggest districts in Jeddah with total area of 372 hectare and a population of 83,507 inhabitants with population density equal to 224.66 people per hectare.

Our field observation also indicates that, although the central park provides users with a relatively high quality environment, the experience of pedestrians can become unpleasant. This can be attributed to several factors. Among these is the lack of meaningful variety in the design of the apartment towers, which look exactly the same from all angles.

Our field observation also revealed that the anti-social behaviour of the users of outdoor areas is considered one of the major problems with this urban setting. Due to the lack of any natural surveillance of the surrounding outdoor areas together with the high density and heterogeneity of the inhabitants, the park and the spaces that lie adjacent to the apartment towers become spaces given over to anti-social behaviour.



Al-Shate'e

The Formal Plaza

This plaza has been developed with the donation of a family in the district in memory of their father. The park is located close to Abdurrahman Fakieh Road and is surrounded on all sides by local roads that lead to the residential villas.

The plaza takes a rectangular shape and is raised one metre above street level. The site is surrounded by a footpath covered by concrete tiles and aligned by a granite retaining wall with six steps to allow access to the seating area from three directions. Generally, the greenery is tight as the park appears to be surrounded by palm trees and some evergreen trees planted to one side to give shade to the play area and car parking.

Morphologically, the geometry of the park can be conceived as isolated from the surrounding buildings rather than being a direct extension of them. This can be attributed to a lack of connection and harmony between the way the park is structured and the impoverished architectural vocabulary of the surrounding buildings. Moreover, the facades of the surrounding freestanding buildings belong to neither the street nor the park, which has in turn degraded the quality of the streetscape.



Al-Shate'e

Al-Shate'e consists of three different land subdivisions which are developed by private investors and approved by the Jeddah Municipality at different times during the 1980s and 1990s. The layouts of these subdivisions are mainly based on the gridiron pattern with rectangular and square lots.

The residential urban park

The park is surrounded by villas and apartment blocks, and is adjacent to Al-Mokhtar Road, with an area equal to 5,280 square meters. It is one of the major parks designated as a public space in the subdivision of the district.

